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# SOME ORIGINAL SOURCES OF PANJAB HISTORY

ANALYTICAL CATALOGUES OF SOME OUTSTANDING PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS AND ANNOTATED TRANSLATIONS INTO ENGLISH OF CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES ENTITLED

## DEWAN AJUDHIA PARSHAD'S WAQAI-I-JANG-I-SIKHAN

**(PHEROSHEHR AND SOBRAON, 1846)**

AND

## MUHAMMAD NAQIS' SHER SINGH NAMA

**(TARIKH-I-PUNJAB)**

BY

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D.G.A. 79.

# INTRODUCTION.

During 1939-41, while angaged as Alexandra Research Scholar under the History Department of the Punjab University, Lahore, the writer was antrusted with extensive search for original indigenous sources of Punjab history, principally during the peried of Sikh kingdom of Lahore (1780-1849). He was thus called upon to explore manuscrits and documents in the possession of private institutions and individuals. His efforts brought to notice a number of valuable chronicles and papers bearing on the peried of Panjab history at the Panjab University, the Punjab Public and the Dyal Singh Public Libraries, Central Museum, Lahore and in the possession of some notable families. For their systematic arrangement and critical study the historical materials were chronologically listed, the original sources were carefully examined, their contants analysed and the significance of each was assessed in the form of several catalogues raisonne'.

The critical and descriptive catalogues of about a dozen outstanding manuscripts thus discovered and complete translations into English of two more prominent among them with annotatory nd explanatory notes were publised in the form two exclusive special numbers of the journal of the Punjab University Historical Society in April, 1944 and June, 1947, respectively. The collection thus represents the first fruits of the general scheme of research under which original indigenous sources of Punjab History during specific periods were to be explored and analytically catalogued. The scheme was intended to be continued and extended for the collection of raw materials for writing an authentic history of the province. For obvious reasons consequent upon the partition of the Punjab the scope of the work initiated several years back has been restricted. It is not; therefore, expected to be pursued as exhaustively as originally proposed. However, to enable research students to benefit from what ever had already been accomplished according to this plan the reprints of the materials already published have been put together in two separate parts.

The publication has been felt desirable since the articles released some ten years ago have become quite scarce and the limited copies of the journal of the Panjab University Historical Society at Lahore have become inaccessible to most scholars.

It is still belived that similar documentary materials would be in private possession in our State. Search for all such indigenous manuscript sources is being continued. It might thus be possible to

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incorporate the results of further explarations in subsequent editions of the volume. Despite the restrictions imposed by the constitutional changes of 1947, the search for original and anthentic sources of Panjab history is being continued under the auspices of the reconstituted state Records Office. It is earnestely hoped that a comprehensive catalogue of historical materials found in the state and neighbouring territories might be issued hereafter.

Even though the provenance of some of the mansucripts detailed in the volume has been indicated at Lahore, it may be stated that copies of some of them and the originals of others have either since been concentrated at the Panjab Govt. Records office, or have been brought over by the owners or are available at other research institutions inPanjab (I).

It would, therefore, be pertinent to note the places and persons where or with whom the copies or originals of most of the manuucripts may be located for facility of reference.

A copy of Khalis Nama by Bakht Mal is available in the personal collection of Dr. Ganda Singh, Director of Archives, PEPSU, Patiala; Tawarikh-i-Sikhan by Khushwaqt Rai is extant at the Punjab Government Records Office, Simla; Shir-o-Shakar by Daya Ram Pandit is found at the Archives Department, P.E.P.S.U, Patiala, a lithographed copy of Umdat-ut Tawarikh by Lala Sohan Lal Suri is among the collections of the Punjab Government Records Office, Simla, the original copy of Zafar Nama (Tarjma Qawaid-i-Sipah), has since been brought over as the share of Punjab (I) Government Museum from the Central Museum, Lahore, and is lodged at the State Museum, Simla; a printed copy of Zafar Nama Ranjit Singh by Dewan Amar Nath, edited by Prof. Sita Ram Kohli, is extant at the Punjab Government Records Office, Simla; Tarikh-i-Panjab by Ghulan Moyyuddin Bute Shah is available at Khalsa College Research Department, Amritsar, and a rotograph of Ibrat Nama is also found there.

The two chronicles - Waqai-i-Jang-i-Sikhan by Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Sher Singh Nama by Mohd. Naqi of Peshawar have been translated into English in full and it may be hardly necessary to seek access to the texts.

The Khalsa Durbar Parwanas belonging to Raja Sahib Dewan Narinder Nath may be expected to have been brought across the border by Dewan Anand Kumar, Vice-Chanceller, Punjab (I) University, along with other literary treasures which were found to be in the possession of the illustrious family at Lahore.

The publication is expected to furnish the students of Panjab history with a careful examination, description and appraisal of some original indigenous sources which have been retrieved and chronologically arranged. The search must be continued and extended until all materials bearing on various phases of the history of the province can be successfully explored.

The complete translations of two of the more outstanding contemporary chronicles would be found handy by those who happen to be unfamiliar with Persian in which the orignal texts were drawn up.

The survey of the source materials pertaiaing to the period of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore may also enable the scholars to utilize in a greater measure the documentary evidence other than British which seems to have been exclusively depended upon, heretofore, and may thus foster a more dispassionote and detached study of the period.

## PART I

## CRITICAL AND ANALYTICAL CATALOGUE OF :

1. Khalisa Nama : *Bakhat Mal.*
2. Tarikh-i-Sikhan : *Anonymous.*
3. Shir-o-Shakar : *Pandit Daya Ram.*
4. Umdat-ut-Tawarikh : *Sohan Lal Suri.*
5. Roznamcha : *Moulvi Ahmed Baksh Yakdil.*
6. Zafar Nama (Manual of Military Training): *Harbhagat Rai.*
7. Zafar Nama Ranjit Singh : *Amar Nath Akbari.*
8. Tarikh-i-Panjab : *Bateshah.*
9. Khalis Nama : *Rattan Chand.*
10. Tazkira-i-Multan : *Anonymous.*
11. Ibrat Nama : *Ali-ud-din.*

## ANNOTATED TRANSLATIONS :

1. Waqai-i-Jang-i-Sikhan : *Dewan Ajudhia Parshad.*
2. Tarikh-i-Panjab (Sher Singh Nama) : *Mohammed Naqi of Peshawar.*



خالصہ نامہ

# KHALISA NAMA

Panjab University Library, pe. II, 108; ff. 62; 11. 15; 9.9″ × 6.7″, 7.5″ × 4.4″; coarse nastalik; good state of preservation; headings of the principal events given in the margin.

Beginning : بغر حمد خدا مے گوید بخت مل ...الخ

Author : Bakht Mal.

*Date of Composition* — Not stated by author, but dates in the later portion are referred to as contemporary. Thus on folio 47b:

" امروز کہ سال بست و یکم ہجری است ... "

("The year is now 1221 A. H. . . . . "). This shows that the mss. was being composed in 1806 A. D. Again on f. 55a :

" درین سال کہ بست و یکم ہجری است ہولکر نواح جے پور و جنرل در کانہ پور مقام دا رند..."

("This year, which is (twelve hundred and) twenty-one Hijra, Holkar is stationed in the neighbourhood of Jaipur and the General at Cawnpore. . . . . ")

On f. 58a it is stated :

(" At present, which is the year 1221 A. H., the Gurkhas are established where they were ").

Further on f. 59a it is stated :

" امروز کہ سال یک ہزار و دو صد و بست و یک ہجری است مردم گورکیہ بجائے کہ ہستند قیام دارنہ..."

(" At present, which is the year 1222 A. H. . . . ") This shows that the account was continued during 1807 A. D. The book concludes with a reference to the second expedition of Maharaja Ranjit Singh across the Sutlej, which took place in 1863[1] Vikrama Samvat (1807 A.D.). It is therefore clear that the mss. was composed during 1806-1807 A. D.

*The Chronicle and the Author*—The language of the chronicle is impure and often obscure; the author has used a number of Hindi, Sanskrit and distorted English terms; there are frequent errors and variations of spelling[2]. The style shows no literary

1. *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh :* Sohan Lal, Daftar II, pages 65-67.
2. A few of many such cases: ندید is written as نو ید کسو ہن is written as کوھن or واہ کسد ہن is written instead of وارد

pretension, but the author indulges, like the classical historians, in occasional philosophic reflections. He was a man of repute in his day. Pandit Dya Ram, a contemporary, writes of him :

" Lala Bakht Mal, may the Lord bless him, ..... was an elevated and spiritual man, who adopted the profession of letters and sought to inculcate the unity of God. He was employed under Dewan Ganga Ram as a *munshi* and wrote "*Gulistan-i-Khyal* ", " *Tilasam-i-Gam* ", " *Bagh-o-Bahar* ", " *Khalisa Nama* " and " *Louis Nama* ". He was a learned and virtuous man, who died five years ago. "[1]

The author seems to have been in close touch with certain contemporary British officers. His work was used by Malcolm in the preparation of his sketch of the Sikhs. Bakht Mal has himself recorded (f. la) that " in his leisure spent in the company of Bhai Lal Singh he had written two books (on the history of the Sikhs), a detailed and an abridged one. The former when only half finished, was stolen, and the latter was taken by Mr. John Malcolm. Still, led by a growing taste for the theme, he wrote the present work from the beginning. . . . . It has been named Khalisa Nama." This is corroborated by Riu (Vol. I, p. 294) who states : "The second of the above works is preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society (see Morley's catalogue, No. 85). It is one of the authorities followed by Malcolm in his sketch of the Sikhs, where the author is called " Bakhta Malli ". His account, which was obviously not intended to be a court chronicle, freely denounces the early aggressions of Ranjit Singh.

As the *Munshi* of Dewan Ganga Ram,[2] who served in turn Col. Louis, General Lake and Bhai Lal Singh until he was finally employed by Ranjit Singh[3], Bakht Mal had opportunities of closely observing the struggle for supremacy among the Marathas, French and English in Upper India towards the end of the 18th century.

*Contents*—Most of the chronicle, which is described by the author as a history of the Sikhs from the first Guru, Nanak, is derived from secondary sources, but the portion relating to the opening years of the 19th century is contemporary. Apart from the

1. *Shir-o-Shakar* :—Pandit Dya Ram, ff. 76b-77a. In the beginning of the section on some of his notable contemporaries (f. 75b), wherein the passage occurs, the author has recorded the date 1871 B. E. Thus the date of Bakht Mal's death would be 1866 B. E. (1803 A. D.)
2. See *Shir-o-Shakar* by Pandit Dya Ram, ff. 33b, 34a, 44b, 45a and 46b .
3. Sohan Lal. *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar II, pp. 143-44.

story of the Sikh Gurus, which is legendary, the historical part of the work covers the period from the dissolution of the Mughal Empire in the latter half of the 18th century to the rise of Ranjit Singh early in the 19th century. For the purpose of Sikh history in particular the portion dealing with the last quarter of the 18th century and the early career of Ranjit Singh is valuable, since original sources of the period are very scarce.

*Analysis*—Foreword on the writing of the book (f. la) ; account of the Sikh Gurus, (ff. la-8b); battle between Bahadur Shah and Azim Shah (ff. 8b-9b) ; activities of Wazir Khan (ff. 9b-10a) ; account of the death of Guru Gobind Singh (ff. 10a-10b); expulsion of Banda and destruction of Sarhind (ff. 10b-11b).

*Farukh Siyar*—Exile of Mohammad Farukh Siyar and his capture of the throne of Delhi (ff. 11b-12a) ; attack by Farukh Siyar and the expulsion of Mohammad Shah (ff. 12a-13a).

*Ahmad Shah Durrani*—Rise of Ahmad Shah Durrani to power and his first invasion of India (ff. 13a-15a); determination of Abdali to invade India a second time (ff. 15a-15b); death of Moin-ul-Mulk and plundering of towns by the Sikhs (ff. 15b-16a) ; arrest of Sultan Ahmad and expulsion of Ghazi-ud-Din Khan (ff. 16a-16b); accession of Aziz-ud-Din Mohammad; expulsion of Sikhs and the third invasion of Ahmad Durrani (ff. 16a-17b) ; expulsion of the Sikhs and the Marathas and the plundering of the country (ff. 17b-18b) ; fourth invasion of Ahmad Durrani and defeat of the Marathas by the Durranis (ff. 18b-19b) ; account of the battle between the Marhattas and the Durranis and the accession of Prince Ali Gohar in consultation with the British and Mir Qasim Ali Khan (ff. 19b-20b) ; fifth invasion of Ahmad Durrani and punishment of the Sikhs (ff. 20b-21b) ; account of the battle with the Jats and the determination of Ahmad Durrani to invade India a sixth time (ff. 21b-22b) ; overthrow of Zulifqar-ul-Daula and strengthening of the power of the Sikhs (ff. 22b-25b) ; death of Najaf Khan and adversity of the followers of Ahmad (ff. 25a-25b).

*The Marathas*—Saif Khan and Mohammad Beg Khan meet Patel and attempt to stabilise affairs ; dissensions among the Sardars caused by Rao (ff. 26b-30a) ; expulsion of Marathas from Sikh towns (ff. 30a-b ; Amba Rao Angria proceeds towards the country of the Sikhs ; his return (ff. 30b-31a) ; proposed attack of Rai Khan

on Sikh territory (ff. 32b-33a) ; account of territorial acquisitions of Lakhodada in India ; expulsion of Nano Rao and other Marathas from the country of the Sikhs (ff. 33a-38a).

*Coming of the British, their conflict with the French*—Ascendancy of George Thomas and his defeat of the Sikhs and the Sardars of Malwa (ff. 38a-43b) ; battle between General Perron and George Thomas at Bahadurgarh, and defeat of the latter (ff. 43b-47a); rise of the British dominion in India during the period; British efforts to counteract increasing French influence ; defeat of General Perron by General Lake at Kol ; another engagement between General Lake and General Perron at Akbarabad ; defeat of the latter ; march of General Lake towards Bharatpur ; submission of the ruler to him.

*Jaswant Rao Holkar*—Anticipated arrival of Jaswant Rao Holkar ; General Lake's preparations ; his alliance with Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh, withdrawal of the British troops sent against Holkar ; joining of Raja of Bharatpur with Holkar ; disturbance at Delhi due to the advance of Harnath Chela (Holkar's general) on the city ; entry of Holkar into Bharatpur (ff. 47a-50b); despatch of General Lake to punish the Raja of Bharatpur and to resist Holkar ; battle between General Lake and Holkar at Daik (Near Delhi) ; pursuit of Holkar and siege of Bharatpur ; escape of Holkar and his solicitations for help from the Sikh Sardars ; he crosses Jamuna and plunders towns with Sikh Sardars ; encirclement of the British troops under Col. Wren ; General Lake hurries to his rescue ; escape of Holkar towards Farrukhabad ; his flight to Bharatpur ; unsuccessful siege by the British ; Mir Khan's aid to Holkar ; Bharatpur ; Holkar's alliance with the Jats and Daulat Rao (ff. 50b-53b); holkar's wanderings in the Cis-Sutlej country ; his visit to Patiala to settle the dispute between the Raja and the Rani ; his pursuit by General Lake; arrival of Holkar at Amritsar ; meeting with Ranjit Singh ; intercession of Raja Bhag Singh on behalf of the British ; Ranjit Singh's refusal to ally himself with Holkar against the British ; Holkar's truce with the General and his withdrawal from the Sikh country ; reward of the friendly Sardars by the British (ff. 53b-55a).

*Ranjit Singh in the Cis-Sutlej area.*—Developments of the dispute between the Raja and Rani of Patiala ; invitation to Ranjit Singh for help by his cousin Bhag Singh ; Ranjit

Singh's arrival on the Sutlej with ten thousand men (ff. 55a-56b); his occupation of the fort at Ludhiana; efforts at reconciliation; withdrawal of Ranjit Singh towards Thanesar and his interference in the local dispute about succession; Ranjit Singh's parleys with Raja Sansar Chand Katoch against the Gurkhas; siege of the fort at Kangra by the Gurkhas; Ranjit Singh's return to Amritsar; his preparation for a raid on Kasur, his invitation to Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh to join him; their preoccupation with the dispute between the Raja and Rani; Ranjit Singh's attack on Kasur with 50,000 horse and foot; pitched battle between the parties; intervention of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and settlement of terms of submission of Qutab-ud-Din Khan of Kasur; Ranjit Singh's withdrawal towards Multan (ff. 56b-58b); observations on the political condition of northern India; Ranjit Singh's march on Multan; withdrawal after brief siege; unsuccessful efforts to resolve the dispute between the Raja and the Rani of Patiala; devastation of the neighbourhood of Patiala; invitation to Ranjit Singh to arbitrate between them; the Rani's fear of the anticipated visit; abject surrender to the Raja; humiliation of the partisan Sardars; Ranjit Singh's arrival at Kaithal; payment of tribute to him by the Sardars, except Jodh Singh Kalsia; sack of the house of Sahib Singh by Ranjit Singh; attachment of the *Dera* of the deceased Tara Singh Gaiba and imprisonment of his son; arrival in the Bist Jullundur *doab* and establishment of his control over it; collection of large booty; capture of Nahangarh; Ranjit Singh's attachment of of the *deras* of the Sardars killed in the battle; comments on the purely predatory nature of Ranjit Singh's rule (ff. 59a-62a).

# تاریخ سکھاں

# TARIKH-I-SIKHAN

ORIENTAL SECTION, PANJAB PUBLIC LIBRARY, LAHORE.

Pages 268, 11. (pp. 1—15) 15 and (pp. 16—268) 23 ; 15.5″ × 6″ ; 10.2″ × 3.8″ ; coarse nastalik ; in good state ; headings of sections and outstanding events and names in red.

*Author*—Name not mentioned in the text. In the preface (p. 16) he has described himself as a servant of the East India Company.

From the note at the end (p. 268) it is established that the book was written at Batala (Gurdaspur).

Beginning :

جہان جہان گوھر صفت و ثنائی و عالم عالم جواھر حمد ... الخ
(page 16).

*Date of Composition*—The author has recorded[1] that he wrote the book at the instance of Col. David Ochterlony (p. 17) in 1811 A. D. This is confirmed by the concluding lines.[2]

Written in free *shikasta*, the language is clear and direct. The chronicle is discursive and the author has divided his narrative only by giving sectional headings in red. He avoids sententious reflections, common in such works.

The work is a history of the Panjab from the time of Farrukh Siyar till the rise of Ranjit Singh. The record as a whole cannot be treated as contemporary, but the section which describes the career of Ranjit Singh to 1811 A. D. (pp. 197—267), may have been written from the author's personal or fairly direct knowledge. This is much the most valuable part of the work. It deals with

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1. تبوقع و بہبودیٔ خود بگزارش احوال فرقہ سکھان و پیغمبران ایشان بطریق انتخاب و مجمل درسن یک ہزار ہشت صد و یازدہ عسیوی سعادت خود ساختہ ... (1811 A.D.) (p. 17, l. 3)

2. At the end of narrative the author has stated :—

اگرچہ سلسلۂ حالات ما بندہ جاری لیکن تاریخ لغایت حال بتحریر اخر ماہ جون ۱۸۱۱ ع یک ہزار ہشت صد و یازدہ عسیوی ہمی قدر وقایع گذشتہ و اکتفا کردہ ـ ہر کسے را اشتیاق بدریافت ماہیت ملک گیری و ظفر یابی مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھہ باشد تلاشر یافتہ پیش ازین تحریر نماید ...
(p. 268, ll. 7—10).

the early career of the Sardar up to the time when he had established himself as the paramount chief in the central Punjab and was about to launch upon the more ambitious phase of extending his dominions by a series of successful military campaigns, which brought the whole of the Punjab west of the Sutlej under his sway.

ANALYSIS

Legendary history of the city of Delhi from the days of the Mahabharta to the period of Shah Jahan (pp. 4—6); mythological periods of history and their duration (according to Puranic tradition), (pp. 6—15). (The account up to page 15 does not appear to have been written by the same person as the writer of the rest of the book. The handwriting, dimensions and general form are all different. The account on page 15 does not connect with that on page 16. The key-word given at the end of page 15, which, according to established practice, should be the first word on page 16, is not found there. Instead, page 16 begins anew with the usual prologue. This earlier portion does not relate to the history of the Sikhs and has probably been inserted by inadvertance.)

PROLOGUE.

The author records that as an employee of the East India Company, he was asked by Col. David Ochterlony to write a history of the Sikhs (p. 16). Account of the Sikh Gurus and Banda ; certain quotations from Guru Gobind Singh in Hindi (pp. 50-51) ; verses written by the the same Guru to Aurangzeb in Persian (pp. 58-59) (p. 70-71).

*The Mughal Province of Panjab*—An account of the Sikhs under the administrators of Lahore since the accession of Mohammad Shah after the death of Farrukh Siyar ; an account of Nawab Zakria Khan, or Nawab Khan Bahadur, father of Abdul Samad Khan, Nazim of Lahore (pp. 70—72); a letter from Nadir Shah and a reply from Mohammad Shah ; massacre and sack of Delhi ; Sikh depredations and measures against them by Dewan Lakhpat Rai, dewan of Yahia Khan, son of Bahadur Khan (pp. 74-75); battle between Shah Nawaz Khan and his brother Yahia Khan ; establishment of Shah Nawaz Khan at Lahore and his invitation to Ahmad Shah Durrani (pp. 75 –79); administration of Mir Mannu (pp. 79-80).

*Sikh leaders and misls*—References to leading Sikh Chiefs—Kapur Singh, Chehrat Singh Shukarchikia, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and

others (pp. 80-81); an account of the eleven invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali (pp. 81—100). A brief account of the Panjab (pp. 100—102); accounts of Sardar Jassa Singh, Bhag Singh and Fateh Singh Ahluwalia (pp. 102—107); Nawab Kapur Singh and his son Budh Singh (pp. 107-108); Baghel Singh (108—110); the family of Tara Singh (pp. 110-111); the Ramgarhia Sikhs (pp. 111—122); the Bhangi Singh (pp. 122—127); the Afghans of Kasur (pp. 127-128); Sardar Lehna Singh of Daineki (pp. 128—130); Gujar Singh of Gujrat (pp. 130—133); Gurbakhsh Singh of Wazirabad (p. 133); Tara Singh of Hussainpur (p. 133); Bagh Singh Halowalia (p. 133); the Singhs of Sialkot (pp. 133-134), Nahar Singh Chimiariwala (p. 134): Jandiala of the Guru (pp. 134-135); the Nikai Sikhs (pp. 135—137); Dharam Das Loli of Jodhnagar (pp. 137-138); the sons of the Chaudharis of Dharamkot (pp. 138-139); Jai Singh Kautya (pp. 139—145); the hill Rajas (pp. 145—159); an account of the house of Ahmad Shah Durrani (pp. 159—167); an account of the Singhs of Phul (or Phulkian) (pp. 167—174); Chaudhari Tiloka and his family (pp. 174—177); Bhai Bhakta (pp. 177—179); the Afghans of Malerkotla (pp. 179—182); the family of Raike of Jagraon (pp. 182—184); Gurdit Singh Dalawalia (pp. 184-185); Karam Singh Nirmola, Karam Singh Shahid, Mehar Singh Nishanwala, Jodh Singh Kalsia, Rai Singh and Sher Singh Burya of Jagadhari, Gurbakhsh Singh Ambalawala, Hari Singh Kanga, Dharam Singh Munda (pp. 185—188).

*Ranjit Singh*—Chahrat Singh Shukarchakia (pp. 188—192); Maha Singh, son of Chahrat Singh, son of Chandar Bhan (pp. 192—197); narrative of the reign of the exalted Sardar Ranjit Singh Bahadur, son of Maha Singh, son of Chahrat Singh, the ruler of Lahore. (The account begins from 1792 A.D., with the assumption of the headship of the Shukarchakia *misl* by Ranjit Singh on the death of his father, Maha Singh).

The chronicle is similar in form to *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sohan Lal and *Tarikh-i-Panjab* of Buta Shah. It closes with an account of the meeting of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Shah Zaman at Rawalpindi; the reception of Mohammad Aiwaz, *Vakil* of the Governor: the usurpation af the Nakai territory by the Maharaja and the repair of the ditch and the city wall at Lahore, the repair of the forts and collection of provisions, etc.,—up to the end of June, 1811, A.D. (pp. 197—267).

# شیر و شکر

# SHIR-O-SHAKAR

PANJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, LAHORE

ff. 135; ll. 15; 9·4″ × 5·8″ : 6·5″ × 3·5″;

Coarse nastalik; in good state of preservation, within red and black margin; headings of principal events given in red; the first page beautifully illuminated; certain corrections made in the margin.

Beginning : ای از همه برتری خدائی ... آنچ

Author :

Dya Ram Pandit.[1]

Date of composition : 1871 B.E. (1814 A.D.) (f. 4a)

Date of copying the mss. from the original : Chet 1882 B.E. (March, 1825 A.D.) (f. 135a)

Scribe : Malik Gulab Rai, son of the author (f. 32b).

It is a contemporary account by an eye-witness. The author states in the introduction : " Since the book contains an account of his own life and is a record of events connected with some other outstanding Sardars, it has been named *Shir-o-Shakar* (literally 'milk and sugar'). It is, therefore, expected to give the palate of the readers its distinguishing taste and their brains are expected to derive freshness from it. Besides it is intended to remain as the humble writer's memorial in this world" (f. 2b). In short, an autobiographical sketch and a record of important contemporary political events from 1871 B. E. (1814 A. D.) (f. 4a) to 1882[2] B. E. (1825 A. D.) (f. 134a). But even the earlier account of the scramble for power among the Marathas, the British and the French as a result of the dissolution of the Mughal empire in the beginning of the 18th century seems to be the record of events which were either personally observed by him or took place during his lifetime.

The period covered by the book is very eventful and important. The record is valuable as a contemporary account. As avowed by the author, it is a mixture of his personal experiences and a record of contemporary events. Pandit Dya Ram was an eye-witness on

1. Curiously the author is called "*Lala* (a Khatri) on ff. 1a and 135a; whereas while writing about his pedigree (f. 5a) he has expressly mentioned that he was a *Pandit* (a Brahman). This is confirmed by the fact that the author's sister was married into the Kaul (a noble Kashmir Brahman) family (f. 82).

2. The last important event mentioned in the book is the death of *Missar* Dewan Chand, which occurred in the above mentioned year : (See, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* : Sohan Lal, Daftar II, p. 325).

most of those occasions. The author gives a first hand account of many happenings in the neighbourhood of Delhi in connection with the triangular struggle among the Marathas, the French and the British. He served under some of the prominent persons who participated in it and was, therefore, personally affected by those political developments. Later he became associated with *Dewan* Ganga Ram,[1] a notable official, who took service with a number of outstanding personalities of the day until he was engaged by Maharaja Ranjit Singh (f. 56b). Under the patronage of the Dewan[2], the author joined the Maharaja's service and was on more than one occasion (ff. 89b, 91a, 108a, 130a-b) entrusted with important administrative duties. Thus his record is authentic and direct. The narrative of the earlier part of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's career is coherent and comprehensive.

ANALYSIS.

*Personal details*—A poem and a brief passage in praise of God; explanation of the name of the book (ff. 1-2b); the author's association with Dewan Ganga Ram, an employee of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1871 B. E. or 1814 A. D.); Dewan Ganga Ram's engagement in the unsuccessful expedition to Kashmir; the author's indisposition and the writing of the book during his leisure (ff. 3a-4b); a brief auto-biographical sketch of the author up to the beginning of the account (ff. 5a-b).

*Events around Delhi*—The dissolution of the Mughal empire and disintegration of the power of Najaf Khan (ff. 5b-7b); the battle between Mahad Ji Sindhia and Maharaja Partap Singh of Jainagar (or Jaipur) (ff. 7b-9a); the battle between Hazrat Khaqani and Najaf Quli Khan and expulsion of Ghulam Qadir Rohila (ff. 9a-b); defeat of Ismail against the Marathas and plundering of the country by Ghulam Qadir Rohila (ff. 10a-12b); battle between Mirza Ismail and Najaf Quli Khan ff. (12b-13a): battle between Ismail and the army of Mahad Ji Sindhia (ff. 13a-14b); second battle between Mirza Ismail and the Marathas (ff. 14b-17a); an account of Jodhpur (ff. 17a-20b); battle between Raja Bijey Singh and Bhim Singh (ff. 20b-25a); imprisonment of Ismail by the Marathas

1. Dewan Ganga Ram, as we learn from Dya Ram (ff. 33b, 34a, 44b, 45a and 46b), in turn served Col. Louis, General Lake aud Bhai Lal Singh until he was invited by Maharaja Ranjit Singh *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Sohan Lal, Daftar II, pp. 143-44).

2. *Dewan* Ganga Ram has been frequently mentioned, in ff. 56a, 88b, 89b, 90b, 108a and 123a.

(ff. 25a-26a); the externment of Shahmal (ff. 26a-b); the undoing of the Sheikh and Shahmal and death of Bijey Singh (ff. 26b-32a); externment of Perron (ff. 32a-35b); battle between Col. Louis and George Thomas (ff. 35b-37b); retreat of Col. Louis towards the Sikh country (ff. 37b-39a); withdrawal of Perron towards Hindustan (ff. 39a-b); overthrow of Perron's power by the British (ff. 39b-45b); the second expedition of Jaswant Rao Holkar towards Hindustan (ff. 45-48a).

*Ranjit Singh*—Description of Panjab and the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (ff. 48a-52a); the conquest of Kangra (ff. 52a-53a); second visit of the Maharaja (Ranjit Singh) towards Hindustan (ff. 53a-54a); meeting with Wazir Fateh Khan (54a-55b); an account of the city of Lahore and its people (ff. 55b-57b); some of the courtiers of the Maharaja (ff. 57b-60b); battle between Wazir Fateh Khan and the Sikh troops (ff. 60b-63a); march of the Sarkar (Ranjit Singh) towards Attock (ff. 63a-66b); march towards Kashmir and unsuccessful return (ff. 66b-71a); quarrel between Sardar Dal Singh and Ram Dyal in Kashmir (ff. 71a-74a); return of Dal Singh from Kashmir (ff. 74a-75a); arrival of the Sarkar at Amritsar and other matters (ff. 75a-76b); an account of some colleagues and notable persons (ff. 76b-78a); discussion on the religion of the Europeans (Farangis) between the author and a correspondent (ff. 78a-81b); a sketch of Dala Ram Kaul (a relative of the author) (ff. 82a-84b); rising of the Afghans at Attock and their slaughter (ff. 84b-86a); dealings with Shah Shuja, extortion of the *Koh-i-Noor* and escape of the Shah (ff. 86a-88a); despatch of troops to collect revenue from Kulu and Mandi (ff. 88a-89b); estrangement between the author and Dewan Ganga Ram (89b-92b); occurrence of a severe earthquake (1231 A.H. or 1815 A.D.) (ff. 93a-94a); tragic love affair of a certain Sabit Khan (ff. 94a-96b); expedition to Bhimber and Rajauri (ff. 96b-98a); march against Bahawalpur and Multan (ff. 98a-99b); expedition to Jhang Sial under Sujan Rai and description of the country of Jhang (ff. 99b-102a); reflections on the dishonesty of some state officials (ff. 102a-106a); capture of the fort of Ramgarh; despatch of troops towards Mankera and affairs of the Bist Jullundur Doab (ff. 106a-109a); expedition to Multan (1878 B.E. or 1821 A.D.) (109b-112b); tyranny of Mohammad Azim and destruction of Kashmir (ff. 112b-114a); expedition to Peshawar (ff. 114b-116a); expedition to Kashmir under *Missar* Dewan Chand (ff. 116a-119a);

settlement of the country of Hazara (119a-120a); outbreak of an epidemic and heavy mortality in consequence (ff. 120a-122b); visit of the Sarkar to Dewa Vetala (ff. 122b-123a); conquest of the fort of Mankera (1878 B.E. or 1821 A.D.) (ff. 123a-124a); dealings with Peshawar, despatch of troops, visit of the Maharaja to the place, battle with the Afghans and triumphant entry of the Sarkar into the city (1879 B.E. or 1822 A.D.) (ff. 124a-127b); description of Adinanagar; the Sarkar asks for the hand of the daughter of a certain Rajput (ff.127b-128b); rally and parade of the troops on the occasion of Dussehra and march towards Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Gazi Khan and Bahawalpur and return of the Sarkar to Lahore (ff. 128b-130b); appointment of the author, along with Sham Singh to Jhang Sial; the *Nizam* of the place; difference between the two and return of the author; suppression of the rising of the Zamindars of Gandgarh (near Rawalpindi) by the Sarkar; crossing of the Indus; march into and plundering of the Yusafzai country; audience with Yar Mohammad of Peshawar and presentation of *nazar* by him; return of the Sarkar, and checking of the accounts of Jhang Sial on way back. Return of the author to Lahore and marriage celebrations of his son (ff. 130b-133a); visit of the Sarkar to Bist Jullundur Doab for administrative purposes; visit to Hoshiarpur; meeting with the son of the Raja Sansar Chand; visit to Una to offer respects to Baba Sahib Singh Bedi, a descendant of Nanak; conquest of the fort of Katlahr Jogi; visit to Jawala Mukhi receipt of perquisites from *Dewan* Moti Ram, Subedar of Kashmir; complaint about the high-handedness of the *Sarkar* and disregard of payment to the troops and other employees (ff 133a-135a).

# عمدة التواريخ

# UMDAT-UT-TAWARIKH

PANJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, LAHORE

Of all the extant original native sources of Sikh history the *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* by Lala Sohan Lal Suri is the most comprehensive and coherent. It purports to cover the history of the Sikhs from the foundation of the Sikh religion till the annexation of the Panjab by the British (from 1469 — 1849 A. D.). In the manuscript form it consisted of about 4,000 pages and was divided into four volumes. In the published form it covers about 2,000 pages (12" × 9"). In pursuance of an express wish of the author, Lala Sohan Lal, it was collected by his son and grandson, Moolchand and Harbhagwan respectively, and was published under the auspices of the Panjab University College, Lahore, in 1880. As a delegate from the Panjab to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Florence, 1879, Dr. G.W. Leitner, the Registrar and a founder of the Panjab University College, took the book with him and exhibited it in the manuscript form.[1]

Lala Sohan Lal was the official *Akhbar Nawis* (Chronicler) at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. He held the office for 27 years during the reign of the Maharaja and continued to write the Chronicle till the annexation of the Panjab. He died in December 1852. His father, Lala Ganpat Rai, was entrusted with the same work under Mahan Singh and Charat Singh, the father and the grandfather respectively of the Maharaja. Sohan Lal prefixed to the Tarikh the account recorded by his father. Sohan Lal himself began to write the Chronicle early in the 19th century.

In the preface he has explained how he felt the necessity of writing the history of the period of about a hundred years since Bahadur Shah — the gap on which no standard work was available. He states :—

" In view of this (the serious gap in the history of the period after Bahadur Shah), the humble writer, Sohan Lal, son of Lala Ganpat Rai, popularly known as Vakil, who had devoted his life

1. Dr. Leitner wrote to Lala Harbhagwan on his return :—
" I beg to return the four volumes of your Diary of Ranjit Singh " with a letter of thanks from Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis, the General Secretary of the late International Congress of Orientalists held at Florence, for having sent it to the Congress, and expressing the view that its publication would be desirable ",

to the study of Persian and Arabic writings and had also gained proficiency in the sciences of astrology, geometry, etc., undertook to write the story of that exalted tribe (the Sikhs) from the year 1017 A.H. . . . Accordingly the beautiful account was begun in 1870 B.E." (1813 A.D.) (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Daftar I, p. 3).

Besides his official work, *Lala* Sohan Lal was entrusted with various other responsible duties at the court[1]. He was often consulted by the Maharaja as an astrologer with regard to the outcome of a particular expedition[2]. On many occasions he was sent on political missions and was often called upon to receive envoys from the neighbouring states.

Sohan Lal came into close contact with Captain C. M. Wade, the British Political Agent at Ludhiana, who evinced keen interest in the history which the Lala was said to be writing at that time. In May 1831, Captain Wade received confirmation from Faqir Aziz-ud-Din of the fact that Sohan Lal was engaged in writing a comprehensive history of the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[3]

He asked the Maharaja, through Faqir Aziz-ud-Din[4], for the loan of the services of the *Lala*. The Maharaja verified the authenticity of the record prepared by *Lala* Sohan Lal, granted him Rs. 700 cash and a *khilat* and directed him to see Captain Wade at Adinanagar.[5] At the meeting Captain Wade revealed great interest in the history[6] and enquired particularly about Metcalfe's mission[7]. Wade wished him to return with him to Ludhiana and promised that his work would be rewarded by the British government.[8] But Sohan Lal was forced to decline.[9] Not content with this, Wade sent a request to the durbar to the same effect and the Maharaja asked Captain Wade to wait for some time, after which the *Lala* would be sent to Ludhiana.[10] Again in 1831, after the conclusion of the treaty

1. *Lala* Sohan Lal is frequently mentioned in the *Tarikh* with regard to the various types of work he had to undertake.
2. *Lala* Sohan Lal's proficiency in astrology was established from the fact that in contradiction of Pandit Madhosudan, a notable astrologer of Lahore, he had rightly predicted the defeat of the wretched Khalifa (*Daft.* III, i, p. 30). Similarly on other occasions the Lala was required to predict rainfall, etc. (*Daft.* II, pp. 146, 174, 323, 328, 398, 403 and 436).
3. *Daft.* III, i, p. 29.
4. *Daft.* III, part I, p. 29.
5. *Daft.* III, part i, p. 30.
6. *Daft.* III, i, p. 48.
7. *Daft.* III, i, pp. 47-48.
8. *Daft.* III, i, p. 48.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*

between the Maharaja and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, Captain Wade repeated his request and it was promptly granted.[1] At the request of Captain Wade a copy of the chronicle up to 1831 was presented him.[2] *Lala* Sohan Lal was sent for a second time by Wade in Katik, 1890 B. E. and 1891[3] B. E. (1833 and 1834).

Each invitation was accompanied by high praise for the author. In Katik, 1892 B. E. (October, 1835 A. D.) Captain Wade sent a book on infantry and cavalry drill to the Maharaja, who ordered it to be translated into Persian, and the task was given to Sohan Lal in consultation with Ventura and Fox[4].

Besides his main work, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Lala* Sohan Lal was the author of the following works :—

1. *Ibrat Nama*—concerning the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh. It is no longer extant.

2. *Selections from Daftar II*—This booklet does not consist of extracts from Daftar II, but contains a brief description of the courtiers, rajas, Dewans, learned men, dignitaries, saints and ascetics in the year 1887 B. E. (1831 A. D.) (pp. 1—15) ; a geneological table of the family of the author until 1836 A. D. (p. 16); a funeral oration on the death of his father, *Lala* Ganpat Rai (pp. 17—19); an account of the cis-Sutlej chiefs (pp. 20-26); a description of the institutions of the English (pp. 27-40); extracts relating to the meetings of Sohan Lal with Captain Wade and copies of certain letters and testimonials (pp. 50—56).

Besides these historical works Sohan Lal is said to have written treatises on mathematics, astronomy, etc.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF UMDAT-UT-TAWARIKH.

The chronicle is divided into five *daftars* (volumes), each of which is further subdivided into parts, as under :—

*Daftar I*—From the time of Guru Nanak, 1526 B. E. (1469 A. D.) to the time of Ahmad Shah Durrani, 1828, B. E. (1771 A. D.), pp. 1—166.

*Appendix*—An account of some of the Sikh courtiers, prepared by the author after the Anglo-Sikh war — a brief " Who's Who ". (4 pp.).

1. *Daft.* III, i. p. 72. The author was granted a fine horse, a costly *khilat* and Rs. 300 cash. In addition, he was given Rs. 100 per mensem to be realised from an estate at Sanhwal.
2. This copy is at present preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. In recognition the Maharaja granted the village of Mangh in Matiwal Ilaqa to *Lala* Sohan Lal (*Daft.* III, i, p. 165).
3. *Daftar* III, i. pp. 194 and 201 respectively.
4. *Daftar* III, ii. p. 276.

*Daftar II*— From the time of Sardars Chahrat Singh and Mahan Singh to the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1887 B. E. (1830 A. D.). The frontispiece contains sketches of Guru Har Rai, Budha Singh, Mahan Singh, Chahrat Singh, Ranjit Singh and Kanwar Kharak Singh (pp. 2—408).

*Supplement to Daftars I and II*—A brief account of Guru Nanak and the nine succeeding gurus, the important Sikh *misls* (*i. e.*, Bhangis, Faizullahpuria, Ramgarh, Kanhya, Ahluwalia and Shukerchakia) and how they were consolidated under Maharaja Ranjit Singh up to 1881 B. E. (1825 A. D.) (pp. 1-44).

*Daftar III*, Part i : A chronicle of the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh during 1888 B. E. (1831 A. D.) (pp. 1—132).

Part ii : The chronicle to 1892 B. E. (1836 A. D.) (pp. 133—304).

Part iii : A chronicle of 1893 B. E. (1836 A. D.) (pp. 305-380).

Part. iv : Chronicle continued to 1895 B. E. (1838 A. D.) (pp. 381—608).

Part v : Chronicle continued from the birth of Prince Dalip Singh to 1896 B. E. (1839 A. D.), and describing the meetings with Lord Auckland at Ferozepore, Amritsar and Lahore, the tripartite treaty with Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and the British Government, and the assistance of the Maharaja in the Afghan campaign till his death (pp. 1—156).

*Daftar IV*. Part i : From 1895 B. E. (1839 A. D.) to 1902 B. E. (1845 A. D.) ; an account of the reigns of Maharaja Kharak Singh, Kanwar Naunihal Singh, Maharaja Sher Singh, Maharaja Dalip Singh and the fall of the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (pp. 1—74).

Part ii : An account of Shahzada Sher Singh (pp. 1—56).

Part iii : The reign of Maharaja Sher Singh, pp. 1—88. ("Only this part of *Daftar* IV, part iii, has been found in the collection of the author. It is surmised that the original narrative of the battle of the Sikhs against the British from the beginning of Katik, 1902 B. E. (October, 1845 A. D.) to the 11th Phagan, 1902 B. E. (20th February, 1846 A. D.) by the author was presented to Sir Herbert Edward at the time of the author's meeting with him, but was subsequently not returned.[1] "

*Daftar V*—The annexation of the Punjab—from 1902 B. E. (1845 A. D.) to 1907 B. E. (1849 A. D.) (pp. 1—175).

1. *Daftar* IV, part iii, p. 88.

*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* is written in ornate style, with a display of learning and frequent poetic quotations. The construction of sentences is often complicated and rhetorical and not easily intelligible. As might be expected in a court chronicler, he indulges in fulsome praise of "the Noble" *Sarkar* (Maharaja Ranjit Singh). In the earlier portion of the work (in Volumes I and II) he introduces lengthy philosophical disquisitions at the beginning of each chapter and even each section. The author has used many Hindi and Panjabi expressions.

Events at the court are recorded by the author from direct knowledge. Reports of official news-writers from the provinces of the kingdom form the basis of the chronicle. With the exception of Volume I and portions of Volume II, which were based on information recorded by the author's father, or on legendary and secondary sources (since the author himself began to write the book in 1813 A. D.)[1], the whole work is contemporary and first-hand in the form of annals.

*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* is indeed the most exhaustive work on the history of the Shukerchakia house. Its value was recognised by the Maharaja, who handsomely rewarded the author. Captain Wade's opinion of the work is revealed in the note on the flying cover of the copy which was presented to him and is now preserved at the Royal Asiatic Society Library :

"As a record of the dates and a chronicle of events tested by a minute comparison with other authorities and my own personal investigations into its accuracy during my 17 years' residence among the Sikhs, I am able to pronounce it in those two respects as a true and faithful narrative of Ranjit Singh's eventful life."[2]

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1. *Dafter* I, p. 3.

2. The author's services were recognised by the British Government even after the Panjab had been finally annexed in 1849. The Panjab Board of Administration conferred a *Jagir* on *Lala* Sohan Lal, as we learn from a copy of a letter appended to his '*Selections from Daftar II*', which reads.

"A *Jageer* valued at Rs. 1,000 annually, as noted below, subject to the payment of 1/4 "*Juma*", is granted for life to Sohan Lal, *Vakeel*, under the authority of Government letter No. 1253, dated 18th July, 1850.

Manga, *Talooqa* Muttewal, *Zillah* Amritsar.

By Order. (Signed) H. P. Bond,
*Deputy Secretary,*
*Board of Administration, Panjab.*

# روز نامچه مولوی احمد بخش یکدل در عهد سکهان

# AN UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF SIKH TIMES

By Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Chishti ( 'Yakdil ').

The Diary, written in clear and simple Persian, is a voluminous record of the life and times of the learned author, who lived during the reigns of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. In twenty volumes, it covers the period from about 1819 to 1860 A.D. and is not a chronicle of public events, but a purely private journal. It was maintained by the writer as a literary occupation and for the information of his descendants. The author, *Maulvi* Ahmad Bakhsh Chishti, who used the pen name, *Yakdil*, was born at Lahore in 1795 A. D. and died in 1869, A.D. The journal is carefully preserved by his great grandson, *Maulvi* Abdul Majid Chishti, of Lahore. (The diarist's son, *Maulvi* Nur Ahmad Chishti, wrote *Tehqiqat-i-Chishti*, a well-known work on the antiquities of Lahore.) Since it was written as a private diary, the author has freely expressed his opinions upon persons and events, but his record has the value of eye-witness knowledge and also of information received from eminent contemporaries who were his friends.

Unfortunately the volume relating to the period from 1853 to 1857, is missing.

A few extracts will illustrate the general quality of the diary. On 18th Har, Sambat 1896 (30th June, 1839, A.D.), it briefly records the author's estimate of Maharaja Ranjit Singh thus: "Ranjit Singh had taken Lahore on the 16th Har, Sambat, 1856 (27th June, 1799 A.D.). He died on the 15th Har, Sambat, 1896 (27th June, 1839 A.D.), thus reigning for full forty years. He had a jovial disposition, was fond of pleasure of all kinds, and was extremely generous. He was God-fearing, and so far as he could help he was free from religious prejudice."

On 18th Asuj, Sambat, 1900 (2nd October, 1843), is recorded the story of the brutal murder of Maharaja Sher Singh. The author remarks, "After Raja Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh, reigned for a year and Naunihal Singh departed from this world with him. Chand Kaur ruled for two months and a half. Sher Singh came to the throne on the 6th of Magh, Sambat, 1897 (17th January, 1841, A.D.), and was killed on the 18th of

Asuj, Sambat, 1900 (2nd October, 1843). Naunihal Singh died by the decree of providence and Chand Kaur was murdered by slave girls. Now they say Dhyan Singh has been killed inside the fort by the Sindhanwalias . . . . It was announced a short while ago by beat of drum that Dalip Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, was to succeed to the throne with Raja Dhyan Singh as *Wazir*. It was said that the Sindhanwalias were incensed at this and have murdered Dhyan Singh." Of the confusion which followed he wrote :—

"People have buried their belongings out of fear and are very shaky. When the news of the murder of Dhyan Singh spread there was great consternation in Lahore. Hindus and Muslims all bewailed his death. Thieves and rogues began to threaten people and to fire guns . . . . The whole of our household is very uneasy. Had it not been for Raja Hira Singh, the country would have been looted. There was shooting at night. I was up the whole night with the men of my neighbourhood on watch. Some *burchhas* (evil-doers) looted Dabbi Bazar and the bazars of the *Ilaqabands* and shoe merchants"

He has recorded three different versions of the events of that day, drawn no doubt from different witnesses. One of them is as follows :—

"Sher Singh was at Shah Balawal on the Sanskrant day. The Sandhanwalias, Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh, in conspiracy with Mehar Ghasita, decided to kill him. Ajit Singh came to Sher Singh with a *Karabin* (carbine) with four bullets in it. He brought with him 100 men armed with rifles and said that the day being a sacred one, it was his duty to offer presents, and he presented the *Karabin*. Sher Singh looked at the weapon and was about to stretch his hand towards it, when the trigger was pulled and the bullet mortally wounded him. The armed men then fell on the Maharaja and his companions, Nikka Singh and Budh Singh, and slew them. Ashraf, the *farrash*, was also killed. Diwan Dina Nath barely escaped with the help of Shaikh Amin-ul-Mulk. Many other persons were killed. After this Lehna Singh Sandhanwlia killed Partap Singh, the son of Sher Singh, in the garden of Tej Singh. The Sandhanwalias then left for the fort with the heads of the Maharaja and his son."

The fate of the murderers is hereafter described with characteristic remarks ;—

"Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh occupied the fort and, sending for the officers of state, began to bestow rewards, which was a very unwise action at that critical moment. They made a mistake in killing Raja Dhyan Singh, but having done so, the best policy for them would have been to march into the town with ten elephants laden with ten lakhs of rupees and with Prince Dalip Singh at the head of the procession and to go about bestowing *bakhshish*. They could then have issued orders for the arrest of Raja Hira Singh and it would not have been surprising if the Sikhs had helped in his arrest out of greed for money. But it was unwise of them to sit quietly inside the fort as they did, for when the news of the murder of Raja Dhyan Singh reached the army, Raja Hira Singh worked upon the feelings of the troops and said that if they helped him in avenging his father's death, he would forever be beholden to them, and they all decided to stand by him and succeeded in overcoming the Sindhanwalias in about 24 hours. Ajit Singh fled from the fort and was caught scaling a wall and was beheaded. Lehna Singh was struck with a bullet and fell as he reached his sleeping-room. They both met with their deserts."

## ظفر نامہ ( ترجمۂ قواعد سپاہ )

# ZAFAR NAMA

CENTRAL MUSEUM, LAHORE

*A Translation of a Manual of Military Training.*

Pages 137, ll. 15—24, 6·5″ × 11″; 4·2″ × 7·9″; nastalik; written within red, blue and golden margins; space within two margins decorated with golden floral patterns; the frontispiece illuminated with the Sanskrit letter 'OM' (symbol of God), containing figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva and their consorts; rubrications; in a fairly good state of preservation. On some folios the space between the lines is decorated in gold in *mush dandan* style. The work is profusely illustrated.

The manual was prepared by General Ventura in French. By the Maharaja's order it was rendered into Persian with the collaboration of the General and was copied by Munshi Harbhagat Rai, a pupil of the celebrated *ustad* Mirza Akram Beg. The scribe informs us that "after Maharaja Ranjit Singh had established his power, certain talented Europeans joined his service. Notable among them were Chevalier Allard and Ventura. The Maharaja was particularly impressed with their military skill and capacity for organisation. They trained his army skilfully and made it renowned far and near ..... The Maharaja ordered the Sardars of the troops enlisted earlier and their sons to learn the French methods of training from the Sahibs. Accordingly all the Sardars of the old army and their sons became eager to learn the new methods of training in the *Fauj-i-Khas* . . . . The Maharaja wished the manual of military training to be translated from French into Persian, which the noble Sardar (Chevalier Ventura) was ordered to do. When he delayed the task, the Maharaja reminded him of it and the Commandant (Mihan Singh) also urged him to proceed with it. Thereupon the Sahib (M. Ventura) undertook the translation of the manual and it was the duty of this humble one (the scribe) to write it. Whatever was dictated to this humble one by his benevolent instructor has been transcribed here and the book is named *Zafar Nama*". (pp. 23—25).

After a pious introduction, finally illuminated and illustrated, there follow brief-life sketches of the ten Sikh Gurus. At the beginning

of each sketch there is an attractive portrait in water colour of the Guru with one or more attendants. Next follows an account of the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. At the top of page 21 is a fine painting of Maharaja Ranjit Singh holding a private *darbar* with some Sardars in a charming garden scene under a *shamiana.* The account describes his extensive conquests and his careful military organisation with the help of his European generals (Allard and Ventura) ; the Maharaja's great appreciation of the western mode of military training and his orders for the translation of the manual by M. Ventura. I instructions for the training of the troops follow. The orders are given in the French language transcribed in Persian characters.

The details of the new military drill are explained with precision and illustrated by means of many sketches. These are realistically drawn in many colours and typically represent the Sikh soldiers in their modern uniforms in the French style.

The manuscript is a rare document, which illustrates the transformation of Sikh military organisation into modern form by European generals such as Ventura, Court and Allard, and helps to explain why the military power of Ranjit Singh became so formidable, even when measured against the East India Company's army.

ظفر نامہ رنجیت سنگھ

# ZAFAR-NAMA RANJIT SINGH

BY DEWAN AMAR NATH

*Panjab University Library, Lahore*

ff. 80; 11.13; 10.6″ × 6″: 8″ × 4″;

Coarse nastalik, rubrications, sectional headings given in red at some places ; slightly worm-eaten, emendations in the margin.

The manuscript preserved in the Arabic section of the Panjab University Library (which has been described above) ends abruptly. The last line of this manuscript corresponds to 11.17, page 181, of the printed edition. It closes with an account of the offerings made at the Sikh temple at Amritsar on the seventh birthday of Prince Naunihal Singh in Phagan, 1884 Sambat (February, 1828 A.D.). This manuscript seems to have been copied very carelessly. From folio 65b onwards the headings in red are omitted, although space is left for them.

The text of *Zafar Nama Ranjit Singh* was edited by Prof. Sita Ram Kohli and published by the Panjab University in 1928. This edition was collated from three manuscripts[1] and can therefore be presumed to be complete. Variations in the text of the Panjab University manuscript from that of Mr. Kohli's edition are very slight and do not affect the meaning. In the preparation of this critical catalogue, therefore, the printed copy has been made the basis.

*Date of Composition*—While writing the account of the year 1889 B.E. (1832 A.D.) the author has recorded that he was asked by the Sarkar (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) to write the book. Again in the dedicatory poem at the end of the book the author has mentioned that the manuscript was presented to the Maharaja in the year 1893 B.E.[2] (1836 A.D.). Thus it may be concluded that the book was written during the years 1832-36 A.D.

The account is mostly contemporary and in many cases evidently based on eye-witness accounts. Even in that part of the narrative which relates to the period before the year when he was asked to

1. The first, manuscript A, belongs to the author's grandson ; the second, manuscript B, is in the possession of Rai Sahib Pandit Wazir Chand of Jhang ; and the third, manuscript C, is in the Azad collection of Persian manuscripts at the Panjab University Library. For fuller information about the manuscript and the author see introduction to the printed edition.

2. The following occurs on p. 303 of Mr. Kohli's edition,

write the book, the author ascertained the facts from official sources or from participants in the events who were still living at the time. He has stated:

> "All these matters have been described after careful inquiries by the author himself from elderly people and his contemporaries.[1]"

The chronicle relates, after Chapter I, to the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh from the year 1800 A.D., when he became master of Lahore, to 1836 A.D. when the book was suddenly concluded and presented to the Maharaja. It is difficult to understand why the author, who lived long afterwards, did not continue it. The chronicle is written in the form of annals. The author has confined himself to the main incidents and the narrative is at times very brief. His account is by no means so exhaustive and minutely detailed as the chronicle of Sohan Lal.

*Analysis*—A paragraph in praise of God (pp.1—2); a brief description of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani and Nadir Khan after the downfall of the Moghal Empire; outline of the political divisions of north-western India after their return and the rise of the house of Chahrat Singh (pp. 2—5).

*Chapter I*—The ancestry and birth of Ranjit Singh and his early political exploits until he became master of Lahore.

*Chapter II*, 1800: dealings with rival chiefs, march against Jammu and Sialkot and meeting with Yusaf Ali (British Agent) (pp. 11—13). *Chapter III*, 1801: establishment of the royal court, assumption of the title *Sarkar-i-wala*, minting of coins and other matters (pp. 14—21). *Chapter IV*, 1802: expedition to Multan and romance with Bibi Moran (pp.22—27). *Chapter V*, 1803: expedition to Jhang and other events (pp. 28-29). *Chapter VI*, 1804: various names of Shalamar garden; civil and military appointments (pp. 30—33). *Chapter VII*, 1805: arrival of General Lake and Jaswant Rao Holkar and other events (pp. 34—37). *Chapter VIII*, 1806: the Sarkar's expedition across the Sutlej and exaction of *nazrana* from the Rajas of Patiala and Nabha and other cis-Sutlej chiefs and *Zamindars*; assault on Nahan and return to Lahore (pp.38—42). *Chapter IX*, 1807: march towards Pathankot, assault on Basohli; siege of Sialkot and exaction of

1. The author was born in 1879 B.E. (1822 A.D.) (f. 68b. Panjab University Library manuscript, and p. 155, Kohli edition) and died in 1867 A.D. (Kohli edition, p. viii).

*nazrana* from minor chiefs of the area (pp. 43—45). *Chapter X*, 1808 : some events of the life of the *Sarkar* ; arrival of Dewans Bhawani Das and Devi Das and demarcation of boundary between the British and the *Sarkar* (pp.46—50). *Chapter XI*, 1809 : conquest of Kangra ; occupation of the forts of the rebels ; arrival of Jamadar Khushal Singh and other events (pp. 51—56). *Chapter XII*, 1810 : some campaigns ; expedition to Kashmir and departure of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk (pp. 57—60). *Chapter XIII*, 1811 : account of the care of the *Sarkar* for the well-being of the poor and needy and the destruction of his enemies (pp. 61-62). *Chapter XIV* : marriage of *Shahzada* Kanwar Kharak Singh and preparations for its celebration (pp. 63—68). *Chapter XV*, 1812: march on Kulu; sending of *Kanwar* Kharak Singh to Jammu and neighbouring places for the punishment of the chiefs in league with the *Nazim* of Kashmir ; promise of the *Koh-i-Noor* by the wife of Shah Shuja to the *Sarkar* ; expedition to Kashmir ; extortion of the *Koh-i-Noor* ; occupation of the fort at Attock by the *Sarkar* ; dealing, with *Wazir* FatehKhan; invitation to Dewan Ganga Ram (pp. 69-78). *Chapter XVI*, 1813: Afghan rising on the other side of Attock; sending of *Dewan* Mohkam Chand and Gaus Khan against them ; the *Sarkar*'s visit to Jawala Mukhi and exaction of *nazrana* from the Rajas of the hill states (pp. 79-80). *Chapter XVII*, 1814 : expedition to Kashmir and its failure, apprehended march of *Wazir* Fateh Khan towards Mankera and Bahawalpur; sending of troops towards Attock (pp. 81-86). *Chapter XVIII*, 1815: visit of *Wazir* Fateh Khan to Kashmir to punish his brother, proposal of Shah Shuja for his reinstatement with the help of the Maharaja and the removal of guard on him ; escape of Shah Shuja; his unsuccessful expedition to Kashmir and return to Ludhiana ; visit of the *Sarkar* to Chib Bhau and Bhimber; appointment of Dewan Ganga Ram as officer in charge of the State office; story of the descent of the author's family from Kashmir and an account of his grandfather and father (Bakht Mal and Dina Nath respectively) (pp. 67-94). *Chapter XIX*, 1816: expedition to Multan ; exaction of *nazrana* and glorious return (pp. 95-100). *Chapter XX*, 1817 : conquest of Multan and punishment of opponents (pp. 101-104). *ChapterXXI*, 1818 : history of Multan under the Afghan nawabs ; administration of Multan under the *Sarkar* ; movements of *Wazir* Fateh Khan ; engagement with the Afghans ; sending of Dewan Ram Dyal to collect *nazrana* from Mankera and Bahawalpur ; report of the wanderings of Shah

Shuja ; expedition to Kashmir under the direction of Bir Dhar (pp. 105-121). *Chapter XXII*, 1819 : conquest of Kashmir; appointment of Moti Ram as *dewan* ; giving of the contract of Kashmir to Bir Dhar ; march of the *Sarkar* towards Peshawar ; rewarding of the officers (pp. 122—136). *Chapter XXIII*, 1820 : rising of the hill people in Kashmir and death of Dewan Ram Dyal (pp. 1371-42). *Chapter XXIV*, 1821 : birth of *Kanwar* Naunihal Singh (pp. 143-147). *Chapter XXV*, 1821 : estrangement with Sada Kaur and her punishment ; march on Mankera and its conquest ; requisition of the *Maharaja* for the release of the fort of Wadni (pp. 148-151). *Chapter XXVI*, 1822 : arrival of Ventura and Allard ; their lodging at the Anarkali dome ; reflections of the author on the birth of his brother and his own misfortune (pp. 152-156). *Chapter XXVII*, 1823 : a dispute between the French officers of a regiment and Sardar Mat Singh in a boat ; visit of the *Sarkar* to Adinangar ; collection of *nazrana* from the hill chiefs and administrative affairs (pp. 157-160). *Chapter XXVIII*, 1824 : grant of *Khilat* of *Diwani* to *Lala* Sukh Dyal ; death of Raja Sansar Chand ; depredations of the Afghans in the area of Attock ; visit of the *Sarkar* across Attock ; marriage of Ventura (pp. 161-163). *Chapter XXIX* : capture of the fort of Kotlar (or Katlahr Jogi); insubordination of the Sikh soldiers to Ventura and Allard ; disaffection of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and his escape to Jagraon ; rising of the people of Gandgarh and their punishment ; death of Dewan Ganga Ram and appointment of Ajudhia Parshad as *Dewan* (pp.164-170). *Chapter XXX*, 1826 : administration of Attock by Hari Singh, receipt of *nazrana* from Yar Mohammad Khan ; indisposition of the *Sarkar* and charities ; activities of Sayyad Ahmad, the Wahabi leader, on the frontier and measures against him ; presentation of the author, while a child, to the *Sarkar* (pp. 171-177). *Chapter XXXI*, 1827 : an earthquake in Kashmir ; activities of Khalifa Sayyed Ahmad among the tribes; sending of troops against him ; suffering of Naunihal Singh from smallpox (pp. 178-183). *Chapter XXXII*, 1828 : conquest of the fort of Tera or Tehra ; sending of the author to school under Maulvi Ghulam Hussain Chishti (pp.184-187). *Chapter XXXIII*, 1830 : acquisition of the horse "*Laili* ;" outbreak of an epidemic at Lahore (pp. 187-189). *Chapter XXXIV*, 1831: some administrative appointments and a hunting trip ; praise of the favours shown by the

*Sarkar* (pp. 190-191). *Chapter XXXV*, 1832 : end of the power of Sayyed Ahmad, defeat of Shah Shuja by Dost Mohammad ; meeting between the *Sarkar* and the Governor General at Rupar (pp. 192-212). *Chapter XXXVI*, 1832 : meeting with Wade ; writing of the book on the gardens of Lahore by the author ; the *Sarkar's* romance with Gulbahar Begam ; mal-administration of Kashmir under Dewan Besakha Singh ; story of Shahmir or Mianmir ; restoration of *Baoli* of Guru Ram Das ; intention of Dewan Kirpa Ram to leave for Hardwar ; requisition for the fort at Wadni from the British (pp. 213-221). *Chapter XXXVII*, 1833 : dismissal of *Dewan* Besakha Singh, renunciation of *Dewan* Kirpa Ram and famine in Kashmir (pp. 222-225). *Chapter XXXVIII*, 1834 ; an account of suffering and misery caused to the people of Kashmir ; an inquiry into the accounts of Sheikh Ghulam Mohiyud-din ; sending of Kanwar Naunihal Singh to Bilgram and of Kanwar Sher Singh to the mountainous regions ; indisposition of the *Sarkar* and building of the superstructure of the *Baoli* of Guru Ram Das, reports about the activities of Dost Mohammad ; engagement with him near Bara ; conquest of Peshawar and praise of the great victory ; conferment of the fief of Kohat and Hashtnagar on Mohammad Khan and Pir Mohammad Khan ; appointment of Lehna Singh Majithia and Raja Gulab Singh at Peshawar ; visit of Dr. Harlan and his externment from the kingdom (pp. 226-244). *Chapter XXXIX*, 1835: illness of the author's father, description of the extensive conquests of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, grant of titles to commanders and chiefs ; expected arrival of the British Commander-in-Chief on the occasion of the marriage of Kanwar Naunihal Singh and arrangement for his reception ; recall of *Kanwar* Naunihal Singh from Dera Ismail Khan ; departure of Allard to his home (France) ; preparations for the marriage ; exhibition of Yogic feats by Hari Das ; consultation of the astrologers about the forthcoming marriage at Attari. (pp. 245-256). *Chapter XL* : in praise of the marriage celebrations (a lengthy poem) (pp. 257-271). *Chapter XLI*, description of the principal gardens at Lahore and in the suburbs (in fact a separate book was written by the author on the subject and it has been appended here) (pp. 272-287) ; migration of Mirza Azim, a scion of the Moghal dynasty, and his taking up service under the *Sarkar* ; sending of the reports of the treaty between Shah Shuja and the British and preparations for the expedition to Kabul.

by Ghaffar Khan, son of Abdul Jabar Khan, brother of Dost Mohammad Khan, and its repercussions (estrangement between Burnes and Dost Mohammad Khan) (pp. 287-290) ; a love episode in the lives of Akram Beg and Illahi Bakhsh, who later became a general in the artillery service of the *Sarkar* (the account is mostly in verse). (pp. 290-293). A dedicatory poem (pp.293-305).

The book is written in an ornate style and the author makes a parade of his literary skill, revealing in prose and verse a remarkable command of Persian. The account is replete with verses. The *Quran* and *Hadis* are frequently quoted in the text. In the conventional manner the author has added a formal introduction at the beginning of each chapter. Dewan Amar Nath has partly modelled his history upon that of Abul Fazal, the celebrated author of *Akbar Nama*.

*Dewan* Amar Nath as a direct descendant of Bakht Mal and *Dewan* Dina Nath[1] and as a scholar of great promise was introduced to the Court at an early age and became the recipient of many favours at the hands of the *Maharaja*.[2] He was called upon by his royal patron to write his memoirs (p. 221). Later, as shown by the pay rolls of the irregular cavalry, the author was employed as one of the Bakhshis or paymasters of that branch of the Khalsa Army.[3] But for certain unknown reasons his stay at the Durbar was cut short and the author did not continue the work after 1836-37. Thus from his close association with the Khalsa Durbar through his father, and as an employee, the author enjoyed special facilities for collecting material from the state records or from prominent persons of the day. The narrative can therefore be expected to be authentic and accurate. The Chapters II to XL (pp.11—256) expressly relate to the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and are historically the most important part of the book.

1. Bakht Mal, grandfather of the author was a great Arabic and Persian scholar and accompanied Lord Lake in his pursuit of Jaswant Rao Holkar to the Punjab as a member of the personal staff of Sir J. Malcolm (pp. 36, 93) *Dewan* Dina Nath, the author's father, became the keeper of the Royal seal on the death of *Dewan* Ganga Ram (1826) and after the death of *Dewan* Bhawani Das (1834) held the exalted office of head of the Civil and Finance Department under the Maharaja (pp. 92, 93, 155, 158, 169, 225, 227, 246, and 271).

2. The author wrote his first book *Rauzat-ul-Azhar* (which is incorporated in the *Zafar Nama*, pp. 272-86) when he was only eleven. On the occupation of Peshawar (1834-35), the Maharaja asked *Dewan* Amar Nath to compose a *Fath Nama*, or panegyric, to celebrate his victory over the Afghans (The *Fath Nama* also forms a part of the *Zafar Nama*, pp. 231-36).

3. *Zafar Nama*, Kohli edition, p. vi.

As a connected record of the reign of Ranjit Singh it comes next to the official chronicle of Sohan Lal. The latter portion of the work, that is, the description of the gardens at Lahore and the dedicatory poem (pp. 257-308) though, it contains a few historical references, is of literary value only.

## ظفر نامہ رنجیت سنگھ

# ZAFAR NAMA RANJIT SINGH

DYAL SINGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, LAHORE.

ff. 159 ; 11. 17, 12″×7″ : 8″×4″ ; nastalik, headings of the sections in red.

Beginning :

تحاریر دشخوار پسند واہل تحاریر نکتہ پویند ... الخ

Author : Dewan Amar Nath Akbari.

The copy corresponds with the published edition of the work by Mr. Sita Ram Kohli (Panjab University Publication, 1928), except that some other material has been added to it, apparently by the scribe. These additions relate to the history of some notable families in the Punjab and are written in Persian and Urdu. They comprise :

An account of the family of Sardar Dyal Singh (in Persian) (ff. 161b-163b). An account of the family of Raja Ralia Ram and Raja Sahib Dayal Bahadur (including a list of public works erected by the family of Raja Ralia Ram Bahadur), (in Urdu) ; (ff. 164b-187b). Narrative of the family of *Sardar Bahadur* Sardar Lal Singh Kalianwala from the days of the rise of Chahrat Singh, including a chart giving the names of the various members, period of office, *Jagir*, number of villages and general remarks (in Persian), (ff. 188a-195b). An account of the family of Sardar Mehtab Singh Majithia from the time of his ancestors to that day ; (in Urdu) (ff. 196a-211a).

An account of the family of Sardars Sandhanwalias before the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh ; (in Persian) (ff. 211b-214a).

# تاریخ پنجاب

# TARIKH-I-PANJAB

Panjab University Library; Ape III 8. ff. 618 (ff. 61b-64b, 152b, 193b, 198b, 209b-210, 220b, 243b, 251b, 257b, 261b, 268b, 276b, 288b, 302b, 306b, 611b, are left blank), ll. 27; 14·3″×7″; 11″×4″; Nastalik, slightly worm eaten; rubrications—sectional headings in red;

Beginning:

حمد بیحد و ثنای بی منتهائے مراحد یرا سزا است ..... الخ

Author: Ghulam Muhayyud-din, surnamed Buti Shah, of Ludhiana.

*Date of Composition.*—The author had given the date of the Tarikh in the form of a chronogram[1] تاریخ پنجاب which yields 1258 A.H. (1842 A.D.) by eliminating the units from the first part and adding only the figures denoting hundreds to the latter part. But Rieu and Ethe (iii, 953 and i, 197 respectively) who give the year 1264 A.H. (1848) obviously mistook the word مآت (meaning figures denoting hundreds) for بآت (conjectured to be plural of ب) and misinterpreted it. Certain passages in the text also give us the clue of the date when the book was being written. On f. 6 it is stated that "last year in A.D. 1839 the fort (of Bhakhar) came into the possession of the officers of the Company[2]". This indicates that the book was being written in 1840 A.D. Again on f. 55b the author states:

"The Hijra year is now 1257 and corresponds to the year 1898 of the Vikrama era[3]. These dates correspond to A. D. 1841.

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1. تاریخ تالیفش از نامش بدین وجه مستنبط نمود
مرتب شد چون این تاریخ پنجاب
بفضل داور چون و دا دآر
چون جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت
ولے غیر از مآت اے دانش آگین
ز اعداد نخستین جز و مشمار

(The verses are quoted from the copy in the Panjab Public Library and do not occur in the copy at the Panjab University Library.)

2. "این قلعه در سال گذشته 1839 ع در قبض و تصرف سرکار کمپنی در آمده ..... "

3. "تا اکنون که سال هجری به یک هزار دو صد و پنجاه و هفت رسید و اکنون سمت مذکور یک هزار و هشت صد و نود و هشت مرقوم می شود"

In the preface (f.2a) the author says he was asked to write the book by George Russell Clark, Agent to the Governor-General, who succeeded Lieut-Col. Wade in 1840 A. D. It may, therefore, be concluded that the Tarikh was completed between 1840 and 1842 A. D.

*Nature of the Tarikh.*—It is written in a simple, direct and lucid style. The larger part particularly that embodied in *Daftars I, II* and *III*, as expressly stated[1], is based on secondary sources. *Daftar IV*, which deals with the *misls* which arose in the Panjab as a result of the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, may also be presumed to have been drawn from earlier sources. *Daftar V*, which relates to the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, though actually written later, may in part be treated as a record of events during the life-time of the author. Little can be learned from this chronicle, or other sources, about the author, but he was apparently employed in the British Agency at Ludhiana. On more than one occasion he visited the Sikh court with a British delegation and was rewarded by Maharaja Ranjit Singh[2]. So far as the history of the Panjab is concerned, the *Tarikh* closes with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1839 A. D.) and contains a reliable and connected account only of his reign. But this period, has been far more exhaustively described in *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* by Lala Sohan Lal.

*Analysis of Contents.*—The *Tarikh* consists of a *muqaddama* (introduction), five *daftars* (books) and a *khatima* (epilogue). The *muqaddama* describes the geography of the Panjab (ff.1-42).

*Daftar I*, relating to the Hindu period (ff.43-64), is derived from religious sources and does not refer particularly to the history of the Panjab.

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1. *Daftar I* is based on Shri Bhagwat (Gita), Mahabharat and other sacred books of the Hindus. (f.43b).

*Daftar II* is founded on historical treatises, such as, *Habib-ul-Sayyar*, *Masar-ul-Muluk*, *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *Tarikh-i-Ahl-i-Asir*, *Tarikh Banakani*, *Jama-ul-Haikayet*, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* and *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, etc. (f. 65a.)

*Daftar III* is derived from the books by Jawahar Singh Sodhi, Shankar Jotshi, Sohan Lal, Mufti Khair-ud-Din, Mian Ahmad Shah of Batala and verified from talk with *Granthis* and aged Sikhs. (f.153a).

2. Bute Shah is mentioned in *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Sohan Lal Suri, Vol. III, in the following terms:—

"Bute Shah visited the *Sarkar* along with *Munshi* Shahamat Ali and was awarded Rs. 100 and trays of sweets" (p. 426).

"Bute Shah visited the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh along with Rai Gobind Jas and *Munshi* Shahamat Ali and had a talk with the *Sarkar* about the cis-Sutlej country". (p. 430).

"Rai Gobind Jas, *Munshi* Shahamat Ali and Bute Shah interviewed the *Sarkar* in the company of Aziz-ud-Din.....Bute Shah was granted Rs.100 and seven garments as parting gifts", (p. 432).

The above visits were paid in Samvat 1894 or A. D. 1837.

*Daftar II* (ff. 65- 52) deals in outline with the Muslim period of Indian history and is acknowledged to be based on select books. It throws little light on the history of the Panjab.

*Daftar III* (ff. 153-209), as stated by the author, is drawn from the books already written on the subject. It comprises short life sketches of the 10 *Gurus* of the Sikhs and a brief account of their descendants - Sodhis and Bedis.

*Daftar IV* (ff. 211-302) describes the rise and growth of the Sikh confederacies in the Panjab. Bute Shah has not revealed his sources of information, but as a comprehensive survey of the rise of the Sikh *misls* after the dissolution of the Moghal Empire, the account, though secondary, may prove useful, if corroborated by contemporary sources.

*Daftar V* forms about one-half of the whole volume and contains a detailed history of the rise—growth and consolidation of Ranjit Singh's power in the Panjab and the neighbouring territories. The author has not revealed his source of information, but it may be inferred that part of it, particularly later, was contemporary. The author may have had access to the British records, especially as he wrote the work at the instance of the British Political Agent at Ludhiana. Bute Shah's account of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was found to be fairly reliable by such authorities on the period as Captains Murray and Wade, who had personal recollection of the events. J. D. Cunningham, for example, states that " Captain Murray, the Political Agent at Ambala, and Captain Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana, each wrote a narrative of the life of Ranjit Singh . . . . The two narratives in question were, indeed, mainly prepared from accounts drawn up by intelligent Indians at the requisition of the English functionaries, and of these the chronicles of Bute Shah, a Muhammadan, and Sohan Lal, a Hindu, are the best known, and may be had for purchase"[1].

Bute Shah's account of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in *Daftar V* corresponds so closely with that of Sohan Lal (*Daftars II* and *III* of *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*) that it would be pertinent to compare them critically. Both the narratives, after the usual introduction, begin with Budh Singh[2] (or Budha Singh as given in *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*) the great grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The same narrative order is followed by both, but the account given by Bute Shah is very

1. *History of the Sikh* : J. D. Cunningham, 1918, p. 131,n.
2. *Tarikh-i-Panjab* : Bute Shah, (ff. 307 a—b).
   *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* : Sohan Lal, *Daftar II*, p. 2.

brief. The resemblance in text and substance between the two histories is so close that one is led to believe that Bute Shah's *Tarikh-i-Panjab* is no more than an intelligent summary of Sohan Lal's *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*. At places even the text of the *Tarikh-i-Panjab* is substantially the same as that of *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*[1].

The two narratives vary in many respects. Sohan Lal, as a court chronicler, has been very tactful in describing the early career of the Maharaja and his ancestors, but Bute Shah while narrating the same facts has used less guarded language[2].

Sohan Lal, being an eye-witness, is lavish of detail[3] and his narrative obviously bears the stamp of a diary. In contrast with the official account, Bute Shah has only recorded the salient events, omits details of secondary importance or of little historical value, and relates the events in a connected historical manner[4]. Bute Shah, probably because of his closer contact with the British functionaries at Ludhiana, also uses English names more frequently and more correctly, and has invariably given the Christian years

1. The verses written by Sohan Lal on the occasion of the birth of Ranjit Singh (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar II,* page 18) are reproduced by Bute Shah when narrating the same event, *Tarikh-i-Panjab, Daftar V,* f. 309b).

The comparison of a report from Shahjahanabad supports the same inference. Bute Shah (*Daftar V,* f. 364b) records :

از پر چه اخبار دهلی پیدا یه انکشاف یافت متکلف صاحب از نظامت
شاهجها ن آباد تبدیلی یا فته اند و جنرل اختر نوی بهادر بجائے
او شان مقرر گردیدند ..... الخ

While Sohan Lal (*Daftar II,* page 242) says:

از نوشتهٔ اخبار نویس شاهجهان آباد حامی رائے بیضا ضیائے یافت که
متکلف صاحب از نظامت شاهجهان آباد معزول گشت و جنرل
بهادر بجا ئے صاحب ممدوح منصوب شد ..... الخ

Again the verse quoted in connection with the marriage celebrations of Kanwar Kharak Singh (*Tarikh.,-Panjab Daftar V,* f. 341b) is the same as written by Sohan Lal *Daftar II,* p. 125).

2. For example, while speaking of the activities of Charhat Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's father, Sohan Lal records that :

> "On the death of his father he assumed the leadership of the clan and, on account of his impetuous nature, often stayed in inaccessible forests."

(*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh.—Daftar II,* pp. 4-5). But Bute Shah bluntly states that : "Charhat Singh, on assumption of the leadership of the clan at the age of 20, resorted, like other Sikhs, to the profession of free looting and plundering. He took his abode in wilderness and jungles." (*Tarikh-i-Panjab, Daftar V,* f. 307b).

3. The ceremonial exchanges of presents, etc., have been very carefully recorded by him and have unnecessarily swelled his account.

4. Thus with regard to the visit of Captain Wade (*Tarikh-i-Panjab, Daftar V,* f. 375a), Bute Shah describes the meeting between the Captain and the Maharaja in one passage. On the other hand Sohan Lal mentions events as they take place, without piecing them together, and records them along with other events which occur simultaneously (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar II,* p. 346).

and sometimes months and dates, corresponding to those of the current Vikrama era.

Though the *Tarikh-i-Panjab* adds little to the voluminous account given in the *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, yet as a continuous review of the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by a writer who was partially contemporary, it may not only serve as a check on the official Sikh record, but also help from British sources to corroborate many an important point.

# TARIKH-I-PANJAB

(Panjab University Library; Pe III 27, ff. 360 (ff. 36b, half of 184a, 184b, 265b, 292b, 326b are left blank); ll. (13-23); 10·4″×5·9″ 8″×4·2″, *Shikasta*, in different hands; very bad state of preservation, worm-eaten, certain folios (fl. 300-304) rendered illegible, rubrications, emendations, sectional headings sometimes given in the margin, otherwise overlined in red or black in the body of the text.

Beginning:

اورده اند که ملک پنجاب در عهد سلاطین سلف خراب ... الخ

*The Contents.*— On the whole the MS. corresponds to *Daftar V* of the larger volume. The order of the events is the same. Occasionally there are slight variations in text, but the substance remains the same.

Unlike the longer version, which ends with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1839 A.D.), this MS. covers the period from the rise of the Shukarchakia house to the accession of Maharaja Dalip Singh and the assumption of Wazarat by Raja Hira Singh (1843 A. D.). The narrative of events after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh form Book II (ff. 351a-360a), which is divided into two chapters:

*Chapter I.*—The accession of *Kanwar* Kharak Singh and the events of his brief reign (f. 352a-b); The death of Maharaja Kharak Singh and *Kanwar* Naunihal Singh in the month of Katik, 1897 B. E. (October 1840 A. D.). (f. 352a-b).

*Chapter II.*—March of *Kanwar* Sher Singh from Batala with a view to capture Lahore from *Rani* Chand Kaur (f. 353b-355a); arrival of the agents of the Maharaja (Sher Singh) in the presence of Clark Sahib, the British Agent, at Ambala (ff. 355a-356a); events of the year 1899 B. E. (1842 A. D.) restoration of peace and order in the country; division of the courtiers into two groups; recall of the outlawed Sindhanwalia Sardars; release of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, his arrival at Lahore and meeting with the Maharaja; hunting trip in the hills; illness of the Maharaja, prayers and charities at Jawala Mukhi; return to Adina Nagar after visiting Kamlagarh fort and issuing instructions to Lehna Singh Majithia to conquer Jindwala territory; birth of a son and the Maharaja's visit to him at Batala: merry-making and charities on the occasion; visit of Raja Dhian Singh and Hira Singh to the Maharaja at Batala; shortage of funds for the

payment of the troops, dismissal of the weak and aged soldiers; disorganisation in the country; intrigues of the Sindhanwalias; murder of Maharaja Sher Singh, Prince Partap Singh and Raja Dhian Singh. (ff.356a-359a); Raja Hira Singh prepares for vengeance on the traitors; winning over of the soldiery; siege of the fort of Lahore; capture and beheading of Ajit Singh while attempting to escape from the fort; entry of the troops into the fort; capture and execution of Lehna Singh (Sindhanwalia); accession of Maharaja Dalip Singh and assumption of *Wazarat* by Raja Hira Singh (ff. 359a-360a).

The MS. is described in the catalogue of the library as *Tarikh-i-Panjab* by Bute Shah, but there is no conclusive internal evidence for this attribution. In style, plan, and the contents the portion of this MS. which relates to the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh corresponds to *Daftar V* of the main volume. At times the language is identical in the two copies[1]. The smaller copy is slightly briefer than the bigger one. It may be regarded as an adaptation and continuation of *Daftar V* of Bute Shah's *Tarikh-i-Panjab*.

The signatures of a certain Farid-ud-Din in the margin of ff. 153b and 154a and of Shahab-ud-Din on f. 274a probably indicate the names of scribes of the different portions of the MS.

A note on f. 351b reads:

"The material collected by some person was incorporated in the *Tarikh* in Urdu Its appropriate rendering in Persian, though desirable, had to be given up." Another at the end of the book on f. 360a states: "The concluding part of the account may be found in Vol. IV, which had been written in Urdu." It would appear that the compiler, whose name is not traceable, condensed the material in Persian and also used it in preparing a detailed history of the period in Urdu in several volumes.

1. The heading in read and the account immediately following it on f. 3a of the above volume are the same as given on f. 309a of the larger one.

# خالص نامہ

# KHALIS NAMA

PANJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, PE ; III 73.

ff. 160, ll. 17 ; 9·6″ × 6·5″, 7·2″ × 4·1″ ;

Coarse nastalik, good state of preservation, headings of principal events and names of persons and places in red.

Beginning :

زهی شکر و ثنائی بارگاہ نقش بند ..... الخ

Auhor : Rattan Chand, son of Raizada Salamat Rai.

*Date of Composition.*—The author records that he began to write the book in Chet, 1899 B. E. (March 1842 A. D.) (f. 2b), and the main body was completed in Asuj, 1900 B. E. (September, 1843) and the appendix on the 14th Chet, 1901 B. E. (25th March, 1844.) (f. 160b).

*Khalis Nama* closes with the accession of Maharaja Dalip Singh, 12th Katik, 1900 B. E. (27th October, 1843 A. D. ) (f. 160b). The record of the years 1842-43 would, therefore, be contemporary. Some portion of the rsst of the narrative, probably from the closing years of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign, though written afterwards, may also probably be regarded as contemporary record.

The narrative purports to be a history of the Khalisa from the earliest times, but the account of the Gurus, the inroads of Nadir Shah and Abdali and the rise of the *misls* until the birth of Ranjit Singh (1780) occupies only 22 folios. The rest of the book is devoted to the history of the Shukar Chakia house from Ranjit Singh to Dalip Singh, 1780-1843 A. D. There follows (ff. 104a-141a) an account of many of the events of the reign of Ranjit Singh, at the end of which the chronicle becomes contemporary and acquires its chief value.

*Analysis of Contents.*—Dedicatory introduction in praise of God (ff. 1b-2a), about the writing of the book and himself (ff. 2b-3a) ; brief biographical sketches of the Sikh Gurus (ff. 3a-13b) ; invasions of India by Nadir Shah of Iran and Ahmed Shah ; dissolution of the Muslim power in India and the rise of the Sikh *misls* in the Manjha territory (ff. 13b-19b) ; beginning of the account of the illustrious house of Chahrat Singh and his son Mahan Singh (ff. 11b-23a) ; birth of Ranjit Singh and subsequent death of Mahan Singh (ff. 23a-26b) ; ceremonial accession of Ranjit Singh to the *masnad* (ff. 26b-27a) ; second invasion of Panjab by Zaman Shah and the murder of Shahchi at the hands of the Sikhs at Gujrat

(ff. 27a-31b) ; third expedition of Zaman Shah to the Panjab and the loss of his guns in Jhelum (ff. 31b-32b) ; capture of the city and citadel of Lahore by Ranjit Singh (ff. 32b-34a) ; a brief narrative of the reign of Ranjit Singh from 1800-1829 A. D. It relates to the conquest of Kasur, Multan, Kashmir and other territories, consolidation of the dominions in the Central Panjab, dealings with Shah Shuja and Muslim neighbours, administrative affairs and other miscellaneous matters. (ff. 34a-100a); an account of the Nazim of Multan. Sawan Mal, and administrators of Kashmir and the Bist Jullundur Doab (ff. 100a-101b) ; a few lines about some leading *mutsaddies* (clerks and scribes) at the offices of the Khalsa Durbar (ff. 101a-102b). A few lines about the kings who invaded India from the west before the time of Ranjit Singh (ff. 102b-104a).

It describes the Coronation of Prince Kharak Singh at Lahore (ff. 141a-142) ; the conquest of Kamlagarh fort by general Ventura (ff. 142a-b) ; wayside robberies by the mischief-mongers of Gandgarh and their punishment by Chattar Singh Attariwala (ff. 142b-143b) ; the simultaneous deaths of Prince Naunihal Singh and Mian Udham Singh (ff. 143b-146a) ; the invitation to Prince Sher Singh at Kalanaur by Raja Dhian Singh, the former's arrival at Lahore and performance of the last rites of Naunihal Singh ; Dhian Singh's intention to place Sher Singh on the throne, the assumption of power by Chand Kaur, mother of Naunihal Singh, appointment of a council of administration ; retirement of Raja Dhian Singh to Jammu ; disorganisation and disturbance in the country ; disaffection of the Khalsa (army) with the Council ; arrival of Prince Sher Singh at Lahore ; siege of the fort and its fall (ff. 143b-148a) ; the accession of Sher Singh at Lahore (ff. 148a-b) ; murder of Mahan Singh, the Nazim of Kashmir at the hands of the Singhs and their punishment by Raja Gulab Singh (ff. 148b-150a) ; opposition of Sardars Attar Singh and Ajit Singh Sindhanwalias to Maharaja Sher Singh ; arrest of Mehna Singh (Sindhanwalia), execution of Jawala Singh Mehra, a water carrier, a favourite of Maharaja Sher Singh, on account of his evil doings (ff. 150a-151a) ; the expulsion of the British from Kabul by the Afghans ; the reconquest of Kabul by the British with the help of the Sikhs and the withdrawal from Kabul (ff. 151a-152b) ; the death of Wazir Zorawar Singh, an officer of Raja Gulab Singh, in Ladakh and the conquest of that country by the said Raja (ff. 152b-153b) ; reconciliation of Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia with the *Sarkar* (Sher Singh) and the restitution of his old estates (ff. 153b-154a) ; the murders of Maharaja Sher Singh, Prince

Partap Singh and Raja Dhian Singh by Sardars Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia and their own deaths in consequence thereof (ff. 154-159a); agreement among the notables and the accession of Prince Dalip Singh, 12th Katik, 1900 B. E. (27th October, 1843), (ff. 159a-160b), conclusion of the work (ff. 160b).

*Khalis Nama* is written in simple and easy style. The author often introduces his sections, in the accustomed way, with philosophical reflections.

In the foreword about the writing of the book and about himself, Rattan Chand has stated :

". . . . Since he became adult he was employed under the glorious Sardars and celebrated chiefs of Attari as a correspondent or munshi. He had always desired to make known whatever he knew about the past and present of the *Khalsa*. At that opportune time he had taken leave of his masters for a month or so and began writing this account on the 1st Chet, 1899, B. E." (12th March, 1842) (f. 2b).

As the *munshi* of the Attari Chiefs, who were connected with Maharaja Ranjit Singh by marriage and played a prominent part during the reign of the Maharaja and after his death, Rattan Chand may be expected to have been well-informed about the main contemporary events in the Panjab. His narrative of the earlier period is of little value, but from folio 100 onwards it becomes useful because of the author's personal knowledge. He gives an account of the administration of the provinces of Multan, Kashmir and the Bist Jullundur Doab, which cannot be found elsewhere, besides a coherent narrative of the period from Kharak Singh to Dalip Singh, which can be found in few other sources of Sikh history.

# تذکرۂ ملتان

# TAZKARA-I-MULTAN

ORIENTAL SECTION, PANJAB PUBLIC LIBRARY, LAHORE.

ff. 120; ll. 13; 7″×6″: 6″×4.5″; rubrications, nastalik, slightly worm-eaten.

Beginning:

الحمد للّٰہ و سلام علي عبادہ‌الذین مصطفي ..... الخ

*Date of composition.*—In the introduction the author has recorded that the book was written in 1861, A. D. (the 24th year of the accession of Queen Victoria[1]), when Col. George William Hamilton was the Commissioner of Multan.

*Author.*—The author has not mentioned his name in the text. He has, however, stated that the city and the neighbourhood of Multan as it was at that time had developed in the time of his grandfather, Makhdoom Shah Yusuf Gardez (f. 1b.)

The author, as he has himself mentioned in the beginning of the manuscript, was born and lived at Multan. The book purports to be a history of Multan from the earliest times till its conquest by the British; with a supplement on the chiefs and families of note. Most of the account was handed down by verbal tradition in the family, generation by generation.

*Analysis of Contents.*—Preface, reasons for writing the book and sources of the author's information; explanation why it was begun during the commissionership of Col. George Hamilton; brief description of his qualities and plan of the book (f. 1a-6).

## BOOK I

The founding of the city, the origin of the name and other particulars relating thereto (ff. 6a-20a).

*Chapter I.*—The founding of the city, origin of its name and names of its founders before the rise of Islam (ff. 6a-7a).

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۱ کہ ایں رسالۂ السیت مختصر و دربیان مجملے از احوال ملتان و شمہ ذکر سلاطین و حکام و بزرگان و روسائے و سائر سکنات این دیار وغیرہ ما یتعلق ہم از ابتدائی بنا الی تحریر ھذا کہ ۱۸۶۱ ع ۲۴ جلوس ملکہ معظمہ کہ مطابق ۱۲۷۸ ھ موافق 1919 بکرمی کہ سال چہاردھم است از تصرف فرما نروائی و عملدارئی ملازمان سرکاری عالی جناب صاحبان والا شان انگلیسۂ بہادر دام علیکم در ین و دیار علے سبیل الایجاز واکد ختصار.....

*Chapter II.*—The coming of this country under Muslim rule. Coming of Mohammad Shah in the country; his conquest of this region and the rise of Islam (ff. 7a-8b).

*Chapter III.*—Conquest of the country by Sultan Mahmud Gaznavi; an account of his rule and that of his successors and causes of the destruction of the country (ff. 8b-10a).

*Chapter IV.*—Coming of Mokhdum Shah Gurdezi and repopulation of the country (ff. 10a-11b).

*Chapter V.*—Coming of Shahab-ud-Din Ghori and his conquest of the country; appointment of Nasir-ud-Din Qasaj and an account of his martyrdom, (ff. 11a-12a).

*Chapter VI.*—An account of the events of the reign of Nazir-ud-Din (ff. 12a-13a).

*Chapter VII.*—The dimensions, boundaries, products, etc. (ff. 13a-16a).

*Chapter VIII.*—An account of the number of gardens, kinds of fruits and other agricultural products (ff. 17a-20a).

## Book II

*About Chiefs, Sultans and Officers*

*Chapter I.*—An account of the coming of this country under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi—from its conquest by Altamash to Sultan Mohammad Shah (son of Feroz Shah Tughlak) (ff. 20a-35b).

*Chapter II.*—Accession of Sheikh Yusuf Quraishi and other matters relating to him (ff. 35b-36a).

*Chapter III.*—The rise of the tribe called Langhatran and the causes of the establishment of their power over this country (ff. 36a-38b).

*Chapter IV.*—An account of Mirza Hussain after his capture of the fort (ff. 38b-39a).

*Chapter V.*—An account of the rule of Babar and Humayun till the expulsion of the latter from India (ff. 39a-b).

*Chapter VI.*—Rule of Sher Shah and his successors (ff. 39b-42a).

*Chapter VII.*—Rule of Humayun (the second time) and the establishment of his power, and the rule of his successors till the decline of the Empire under Ahmad Shah (ff. 42a-57a).

*Chapter VIII.*—An account of Ahmad Shah Durrani (ff. 57a-59b).

Marhatta incursions into upper India; establishment of their power at Lahore and their defeat by Ahmad Shah (ff. 59b-62b.) Governorship of Haji Sharif Khan Baharkhel (ff. 62b-64a). Coming

of Bahar Khan Durrani from Ahmad Shah and his destruction of the city wall (ff. 64b). Coming of Ganda Singh Bhangi and his conquest of the country (ff. 64b-66a). An account of the rule of the Sikhs and their expulsion by Timur Shah (ff. 66a-67b). Governorship of Nawab Muzaffar Khan until the end of the rule of the successors of Ahmad Shah (ff. 68a-70a). An account of the rule of Timur Shah for the first time (ff. 70a). An account of the rule of Shuja-ul-Mulk (ff. 70a-72a). Rule of Mohammad Shah (the second time) (ff. 72a-72b).

*Chapter IX.*—An account of the repeated inroads of Ranjit Singh into this country and his battles against Nawabs Muzzafar Khan and Sarfraz Khan and the conquest of the fort by the *Maharaja* (ff. 72b-81a). Narrative of events of the reign of Ranjit Singh, his successors and the Subehdars—Dewans Sawan Mal and Mul Raj—until the conquest of the country by the British and the establishment of their rule (ff 81b-89a).

*Chapter X.*—About the coming of Major Herbert Edwardes and General Van Cortlandt; conquest of the country and sending of Dewan Mul Raj to India as captive (ff. 89a-95a). Narrative of the establishment of the British rule and the period of office of the commissioner—Colonel George William Hamilton (ff. 95a-100b).

## Book III

An account of the people of this country—the Chiefs, families of note, tribes and the general public.

*Chapter I.*—About some outstanding persons in the town, *i.e.*, Sheikh Bahao-ud-Din Zakria Quraishi and his descendants (ff. 100b-102a), Maulana Qazi Qutab-ud-Din Kashiani (f. 102a), Shah Hussain Sarmast (ff. 102a-b), Sheikh Said-ud-Din Khalji (f. 102b); two Martyr Saiyyads (102b-103a).

*Chapter II.*—Sheikh Musa Pak Shahid Gailani and his progeny (103a-104 b); Maular Shamim Kalim Ullah (f. 104b) Faqir Morali (f. 104b).

*Chapter III.*—Some outstanding persons of the suburbs, *i.e.*, Mai Pakdaman Bibi (f. 105a); Shah Shams-ud-Din Orezi (f. 105a); Shah Jalal Owesi (105b-106a); Shah Ali Akbar Hussaini (ff.106a-b); Saiyyad Zain-ul-Abdin Badar Sultan Sarwar (f. 107a) Makhdum Mulla Rashid (f. 107a); Khaldain Waled Quraishi (ff. 107a-b), Shah Hussain Badar Shah Ali Mohammad (f. 107b), Saiyyad Fateh Shah Bokhari (f. 107b); Hafiz Mohammad Jemal

(107 b-108a), Mian Nur Ahmad Faqir (108b); Makhdoom Shah Gurdezi and his family (ff. 108b-114b).

The author was the grandson of Shah Mohammad Yusuf Gurdezi[1] and son of Sheikh Hafiz Mohammad Askar on whose death in 1889 B. E. (1832 A. D.) the author became the Sajda Nashin of the Rauza (mausoleum) (ff. 114b).

*Chapter IV.*—About the Ulus Afghans and their settling in the country (ff. 114b-117b). An account of some other groups of people—Hindus and Muslims—residents of the country (ff. 117b-120b).

Poem of good wishes and compliments at the end (ff. 120a-b).

*Style and Language* :—The book is written in simple and direct style. Unnecessary introductions and all superfluous matter ordinarily inserted to display learning and literary skill have been avoided. The headings of the various sections are given at suitable places in red.

*Importance* :—The book, which gives the history of the province of Multan from its founding to the year of writing the manuscript (1861) is written by a person whose family was closely associated with the city from the earliest times and in which intimate knowledge of local tradition was handed down from generation to generation. It is a typical provincial history, which bears close resemblance to a district gazetteer of modern times. It contains a good deal of general information about the town and its surroundings, the peoples who inhabited it and the noteworthy products, etc.

The portion which bears on the history of Multan during the period of the rise of the Sikhs to political power throws considerable light on the administration of the provinces under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, particularly when no other provincial history is known to exist. The account, though it cannot be regarded as contemporary, is fairly authentic and elaborate, since the author's own family claimed to be in possession of comprehensive knowledge of local tradition. Chapter X (ff. 89a-100b) which gives the history of the city from the date of its conquest by the British in 1847 A. D. to the year of writing the book (1861) gives a brief summary of the period of office of some outstanding local British administrators.

1. "Although the Shah was the greatest and the most revered of the Saiyyads, and was even the founder of the town, his account has been given purposely towards the end. Since the author is a descendant of the Shah, he considered it advisable to say something about his own family towards the close". (f. 6).

From the detailed references it appears to have been based on the author's personal knowledge. But it contains little of historical importance. In places it reads like an encomium in praise of the notable officials.

The concluding portions of the book (Book III, ff. 100b-120b) contain an account of the people, chiefs, families of note and tribes living in the city and the area around it. In the manner of a gazetteer it gives useful information about the locality, but may be regarded of little historical value.

عبرت نامہ

# IBRAT NAMA

PANJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ROTO No. 93.

ff. 378; ll. 18; 8". 5."5 : 6'7 × 4·2"; within margins; elegant nastalik; the opening page beautifully illuminated.

Beginning:

اما بعد گوید بندہ نیاز آگین مفتی علی الدین ..... الخ

Author: Mufti Ali-ud-din, son of Mufti Khair Din of Lahore.

*Date of Composition.*—At the end of the Ms. (f.377) it is recorded that the book was completed on 13th September, 1854 A. D. It was copied at Lahore by a scribe, named Rahim Baksh.

The work was dedicated to Charles Raikes, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lahore (f.3a). The author has stated that, driven by the oppression of the Sikhs, he along with his father migrated to Ludhiana from Lahore, the ancestral home of the family, in 1824 A. D. From that year till that day, 1854 A. D. (the year of writing the book) he had served the British at various places in the Panjab, on the frontier and even beyond at Kabul and up to the boundary of Ghazni and Bamian (f.3a). Prompted by a desire to leave behind a memorial and inspired by the generous patronage of Mr. Charles Raikes he decided to complete a history of the Sikhs which was started by his father at the instance of Col. C. M. Wade, Political Agent, Ludhiana, (f.4a).

The book is written in simple and easy style. It is free from lengthy dedicatory passages.

The work is evidently not a contemporary record. But the author and his father, who had originally planned the book, lived during the greater part of the Sikh rule in the Panjab and may be expected to have written from personal knowledge. The earlier portions about the physical description of the province and its history up to the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were obviously based on secondary sources and, therefore, unimportant. In its general nature the work is more than a history. It gives useful information about the manners and customs of the people and reads like a gazetteer.

*Contents.*—Origin of the name and topography of the Panjab (ff. 4 b--6 b)

Rivers, streams and tanks; the *Doabs* and the products and fauna and flora (ff.6-b—32a). City of Lahore and its antiquities and other important towns in the province (ff.32a-54a).

On forts (54a-58a).

On the religion of the two major communities – the Hindus and Muslims (ff.58a-61b). Early history of Sindh and the Panjab, including an account of the Sikh Gurus (ff.61b-105 a).

Rise of the Sikhs to political power (ff. 105 a-189).

On the ruling groups of the Sikhs in the Panjab (the *Misls*) (ff.189-202). Person and pedigree of Ranjit Singh; consolidation of his conquests and the history of the kingdom of Lahore up to the annexation of the Panjab (ff.202-327).

Manners and customs of the Muslims and Hindus, including the Sikhs (ff.327-362). Description of ornaments worn by the Sikhs, women and men (ff.363a-b)

Muslim Ways (ff.364-65).

On courtiers, learned men, *Munshies*, etc., at the court of Ranjit Singh (ff.366-377a).

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*Note. For notes on "Akhbarat-i-Sikhan" and "Some Khalsa Darbar Parwanas" see appendix.*

## وقایع جنگ سکھان

## WAQAI-I-JANG-I-SIKHAN

Panjab University Library, pe. III 78, ff. 25; ll. 18 (ff. 1-12) and 20 (ff. 17—21); 10″ × 5·9″, 8·5″ × 4·9″ nastalik; within red margin; good state of preservation.

Beginning:

بعد از سرگبا شر شدن مہاراجہ صاحب کلدن ..... الخ

Author: Dewan Ajudhia Parshad.

*Date of Composition*—The author has not recorded when he wrote the original account. But from the text, which is expressly based on the personal information of the author and that of other reliable persons mentioned therein, it may be presumed that the narrative was put down soon after the actual happenings — some time between 1845 and 1846 A. D. The present manuscript, as autographed at the end of the account of the battle of Sobraon (Sobraon, f. 6b,) was copied from the original on the 22nd Poh, 1906 B. E. (4th January, 1850 A. D).

*Nature of the Account*—The narrative of Pheroshahr, as stated in the table of contents (Pheroshahr, f. 1a,) is partly an eye-witness record and partly based on the authentic reports of some notable persons who were present on the spot. In the various sections it is indicated by whom they were reported. Similarly in the case of the account of the battle of Sobraon the author has made it clear (Sobraon, f. 1) that the earlier part of the narrative, since he was not on the other side of the river Sutlej, is based on reports verified by him, while the later part is based on his personal knowledge. Thus the evidence is eye-witness and contemporary.

The narrative deals with the most critical period in the history of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore; when for the first time since its foundation by Ranjit Singh it came into an open clash with its British neighbours. It is one of the rare contemporary native records of the troublous times during the Sikh rule when unbridled anarchy prevailed in the Panjab.

In striking contrast with the general type of histories in Persian, the narrative is free from all literary or dedicatory superfluities. From cover to cover it is packed with purely historical matter, not a word being irrelevant to the subject. The language is simple and easy. At places, however, perhaps unavoidably, the writer has used Hindi, Panjabi or corrupted English terms (generally military)

which were either in current usage, or the equivalent of which were hard to find in Persain. The style is completely unostentatious, without any pretensions to literary excellence or artistic skill.

Dewan Ajudhia Parshad, an eminent state official since the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, observed the political developments in the Panjab at very close quarters and had ample means to collect first-hand information about occurrences in the country. As explained in the beginning of the accounts of Pheroshahr and Sobraon, the narrative is mainly based on his own knowledge and on reports from notable persons who were present on the spot. Thus on the whole the record may be treated as eye-witness evidence. The keen observation of the author and his description of many out-of-the way details have rendered the account all the more valuable. As an original and authentic narrative of events of outstanding importance the manuscript is a rare record of the closing years of the Sikh rule in the Panjab. It is all the more important, since even in *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, the only other reliable Sikh history in Persian which deals with the period, the account of the first Sikh war is unfortunately omitted. The account of the Sikh war from Katik to Phagan, 1902 B. E. (October 1845 to February 1846) was lent by Lala Sohan Lal to Sir Herbert Edwardes at the time of his meeting with him, but was not returned to the author (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, iii. p. 88.)

No other known source gives such an exact and impartial account of the anarchy which prevailed in the Kingdom of Lahore; of the circumstances and events which led to the First Sikh War; and of the campaign as viewed from the Sikh side. It will modify several of the statements made by standard historians upon these subjects. For example, the writer makes it plain beyond doubt that the commanders of the Khalsa army, such as Sardar Tej Singh and Raja Lal Singh, had scarcely even nominal authority; that the officers were solidly opposed to the violation of the Sutlej frontier and bore no responsibility for the subsequent campaign; that, contrary to one common belief, Rani Jindan had opposed, and not instigated or connived at, the melancholy adventure; that all power, military and political, had passed to the insubordinate army and was exercised by the groups of ignorant, reckless demagogues, which formed the "*panches*." The document shows, in short, that the Khalsa Kingdom was destroyed by the Khalsa army.

5900

# وقایع جنگ پھیرو شہر

# "WAQAI JANG-I-PHEROSHAHR[1]"

## Narrative of the Battle of Pheroshahr.

[*f.1a.*] Table of contents of the irregularities committed by the Sikhs at Lahore; their marching towards Ferozepore; the battle of Pheroshahr and return to the territory of the *Manjah.*

An account of the insolence and insubordination of the Sikh troops at Lahore: account of the *Fauj-i-Khas* till the day of defeat at Pheroshahr, based on the personal knowledge of the author[2]. Sardar Ram Singh was also with the *Fauj-i-Khas.*

The narrative of the cavalry from the day of its marching from Lahore till their mobilisation on the 4th Poh (17th December, 1845) at the *dera Fauj-i-Ain* is derived from Harnam Singh; subsequently till the defeat on the 9th Poh (22nd December, 1845) at Pheroshahr the *Deras* of the Regular army and the Irregular army were grouped together.

After the defeat of the *Fauj-i-Khas* on the evening of the 9th Poh, 1902 B. E. (22nd December, 1845) till the arrival of the Sikhs after crossing the river Sutlej towards the *Manjah* the whole narrative is based on the version of S. Ram Singh and S. Mehtab Singh.

The account of the brigade of S. Mehtab Singh and S. Bahadur Singh till the 24th Maghar (7th December, 1845), when the *dera* was assembled at Qadian, is reported by S. Mehtab Singh; later, till the evening of the 9th Poh (22nd December, 1845), at Pheroshahr before the defeat of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, the *deras* were grouped together.

The description of the battle at Mudki is entirely attributed to S. Ram Singh and S. Mehtab Singh who accompanied the Sikh troops.

The rest of the narrative is drawn from various reporters.

[*f.2a.*] After the death of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh Bahadur the condition of the Punjab deteriorated irretrievably. Disorder, bloodshed and fighting ensued. The leading Sardars formed factions. After Maharaja Kharak Singh and Kanwar Naunihal Singh

1. Also called Ferozeshah—a small village between Mudki and Ferozepore. Around the village the Sikhs had thrown up entrenchments. The troops on the spot were under the command of Raja Lal Singh. Here the second and one of the most momentous and hardest fought battles ever engaged in by the British in India, was fought on the 21st December, 1845.

2. Dewan Ajudhia Parshad.

had passed away, the Sardars and the higher officers began to struggle among themselves for power. The army, too, deteriorated as it felt itself master of the situation. This decadence was manifest to all. The administration of the state grew worse from day to day. On the 8th Asuj, 1902 B. E. (22nd September, 1845) outside Lahore on the plain towards Mianmir the Sikh army murdered Sardar Jawahar Singh[1] upon the suspicion that he had instigated the murder of Peshora Singh[2] in the fort of Attock by Sher Singh Attariwala. After that the Sikh troops became completely self-willed. Moved by insolence and avarice, they abandoned themselves to unrestrained violence, which disintegrated the state. The people were put to hardship; revenue was difficult to be realised and anarchy prevailed on the Frontier. The troops that gathered (at Lahore) at Dussehra (in 1902 B. E.) (1845 A. D.) increased this confusion.

The *Rani*[3] ordered the Commander, the brave and resolute Sardar Tej Singh, after his return from Peshawar to restore discipline in the *Fauj-i-Ain* to its state during the reign of the great Maharaja.[4] The Sardar announced to the Sikh army that order could be maintained only if they would return to the obedience they had observed in the time of the Great Maharaja. [*f.2b.*] But the more he tried to control the army with the collaboration of the Senior officers, the more insubordinate it became. Raja Lal Singh[5] controlled political affairs and the irregular troops, but he was afraid of the *Fauj-i-Ain*. At the time of the murder of S. Jawahar Singh he was imprisoned by the army, together with Sardar Attar

1. Brother of *Rani* Jind Kaur and maternal uncle of Maharaja Dalip Singh. He was formally appointed *Wazir* on the 14th May, 1845. He was suspected of leanings towards the English and was consequently unpopular with the army. His control over the Sikh soldiery was very short-lived. He was condemned by the council of the *Panchayats* of the regiments and was openly put to death on the 21st September, 1845, in utter disregard of the appeals of the *Rani*.

2. One of the two putative princes who were born at the period of Ranjit Singh's conquest of the two Afghan provinces after which they were named (the other was Kashmira Singh). As pretenders to the throne, they had broken into open rebellion at Sialkot in 1843-44. Later, at the instigation of Raja Gulab Singh, Peshora Singh surprised the fort of Attock and declared himself Maharaja. But on his submission soon afterwards he was secretly put to death at the instance of Jawahar Singh in September, 1845.

3. Rani Jind Kaur, mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh.

4. Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

5. A favourite of Rani Jind Kaur. After the flight and death of Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla, he and Jawahar Singh became the principal members of the administration. After the ruthless murder of the latter in September, 1845, Raja Lal Singh was nominated *Wazir*. During and after the first Sikh War he pursued merely his personal ambitions.

Singh, Dewan Dina Nath and Khalifa Nur-ud-Din. Despite the best efforts of the Raja to perform this onerous two-fold task the *Fauj-i-Ghair-Ain* became more insolent than ever. The *Kardars* were seriously frustrated in the administration of the country. Kinsmen of soldiers refused to pay the taxes with the excuse that more than enough revenue had already been collected, or that their own receipts had become very little. If a report was lodged against them at Lahore, some members of the army maintained their cause. Often a gang of soldiers arrested a *Kardar* or his agent and wrested from him the dues which he had managed to realise on the plea that the taxpayer's produce had not been adequate, or that the balance of their pay was to be adjusted. Only such *Kardars* escaped this high-handedness as had friends among the troops but those 'benevolent' soldiers required a 'fee' from the *Kardar*.

Political administration was rendered equally difficult, since the soldiers, who were kinsmen of the subjects and belonged to the same stock, had become quite uncontrollable and insolent and perpetrated all kinds af atrocities, fomemting civil strife. If some *Amin* or *Munsif* was appointed (to decide a case) he laboured under one of two handicaps : either he was himself implicated with one of the parties or the other party refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the men sent by the *Sarkar*. They were encouraged in their defiance by the fact that they had kinsmen in the army. Even after a decision had been given in a case, the parties concerned came to Lahore with their supporters, and reopened the case, relying upon the military officers who supported them to oppose the supporters of the other party, utterly regardless of the facts of the case. If an agent of the *Sarkar* was sent (to serve a summons), he was seized by a gang of soldiers on his return and was deprived of any fees realised in terms of the summons. If he handed over the money willingly, all went well ; if he refused or resisted, he was beaten for doing his duty ; but in either case the money was snatched from him. Such deeds created anarchy and disaffection in the country.

If a subject paid his dues, he made the *Tehsildar* (the revenue officer) feel obliged to him for the favour, saying that he had not made false excuses like such and such persons and he expected favours in return. Those of the people who had no relation in the army were left lamenting that in their helplessness they had to pay their taxes. Thus the collection of revenue became daily more difficult. [*f.3a.*] From every side the *Kardars* complained about the

refusal of persons to pay their dues to the Government, which made administration impossible.

The inhabitants of the cities were also much troubled by the *Singhs*, who demanded most unfair rates for the purchase of commodities. In the lanes and bazars they pried through doors and loudly threatened to break them with their axes, promising reprisal for resistance. They declared that the citizens were fortunate that Sardar Jawahar Singh had willingly accompanied them, when they withdrew to the area between the city and the cantonment. If he had not then been killed in revenge for the murder of Peshora Singh, they said, they would have forced their way into the fort and despatched him on that same day and would also have plundered the city. They boasted that the wealth of the citizens was the *Singhs'* for the taking. And none dared gainsay them.

A small group of Sikhs, for example, went to a simple shopkeeper and offered him a few pies for some loaves said to have been bought from him the previous day and required the return of the security of one rupee left with him. The shopkeeper was taken by surprise. Upon protesting mildly, he was beaten without reason. Some of the *Singhs* posed as witnesses for the others and extorted the sum demanded. Fortunately for the shopkeeper, a more kind-hearted Sikh appeared on the scene and induced the others to leave the poor fellow, saying that they had apparently mistaken him for some other shopkeeper. He said that the shopkeeper was a reputable man and that some one else might have taken the security from them, and appealed to them to leave him in peace. The timorous shopkeepers were terrified by such experiences and either kept their shops closed or kept very few goods in them.

In the cantonments, too, there was no semblance of discipline or order. The soldiers, after receiving their pay, absented themselves without leave from the *Sarkar*. They arranged it among themselves and went to their homes to deposit their pay. Parades took place in name only. Some of the troops had gone home; some were absent in the city; and some had gone to settle private quarrels. Not more than a quarter of the total number appeared at the time of parade. No sergeant dared call the roll. The officer of the matchlock-bearers could not order the change of guard. The officers, in fear of their lives, quietly submitted to the will of the troops. The number of troops present on each day was regularly recorded, but these numbers, excluding those who had got leave from the

*Sarkar*, were rarely found to tally with those on the rolls. On pay day the soldiers picked bright new coins from the heaps of money in exchange for defaced ones and threw away the worn coins, saying that they could be given to the officers. Because of these practices the treasury at times ran short of cash. Balances and increases due were taken from the *Daftaris* and in disputes, until the matter was referred to the *Sarkar*, the accountants were held responsible by the men. The soldiers got their brothers, sons and relations enlisted without orders or identification, simply declaring that so-and-so was enlisted at such a place. By their orders the wearing of caps by [*f. 3b.*] 'Poorbeah' troops and regimental bandsmen was forbidden and such men were required to use turbans. If an officer forbade such insubordination some troops would expel him while others, who liked him, would recall him and beg him to defer to the wishes of the Khalsa ; so the officers were at their wits' end.

The *Fauj-i-Khas* consisted of four battalions forming two regiments, with horse batteries and *Jinsi*. It was trained by Generals Allard and Ventura, the French Officers. During the disorders, which followed the death of the Great Maharaja[1] till the days of Sardar Jawahar Singh it took its orders from the political leaders and often acted against the wishes of the rest of the army. By the orders of these political leaders the *Fauj-i-Khas* was kept at Lahore and was entrusted with the most responsible tasks, such as, guarding the magazine, the treasury at Moti Mandar and the city gates. The disciplined behaviour and loyalty of the *Fauj-i-Khas* led to some improvement in the rest of the army. After the murder of S. Jawahar Singh the *Fauj-i-Khas* was off duty. The men of the other regiments conspired among themselves and when the *Fauj-i-Khas* reassembled, they stated that for some years the *Fauj-i-Khas* had been stationed at Lahore and should be sent with its commanders on active service to Peshawar. The soldiers belonging to the *Fauj-i-Khas* replied to their critics that they were prepared to accept the proposal if the services performed by the *Fauj-i-Khas* since its formation were found inferior to those of the rest of the army. They had occupied Dera Gazi Khan, had conquered Mandi and Kamalgarh and other places. They would also accept the proposal, if the periods of their stay at Lahore and near the capital were considered since the capture of Peshawar. The soldiers of the rest of the army

1. Maharaja Rajint Singh.

appealed to the *Sarkar* to transfer the *Fauj-i-Khas* to Peshawar. Their request was granted and an order was issued that the banners of the *Fauj-i-Khas* should be taken across the river Ravi. The Sikhs of the the *Fauj-i-Khas* saw the letter containing the orders for their transfer to Peshawar, and felt much aggrieved. They alleged that their officers had been bribed to agree the transfer—a charge such as had not been heard for years. They declared that the officers of the *Fauj-i-Khas* had always told their men that they would be posted at the seat of Government, in preference to the troops of the rest of the army and that this privilege would always be theirs. But when they received this order of transfer, it became clear that the officers were guided by selfish motives and had betrayed their men. They proposed to collect in a house near Anarkali straw matting and wood from adjoining houses, set fire to it and burn their officers in it. The officers adjured them to maintain the discipline and loyalty which would spread their reputation throughout the world; that they (officers) would share [*f. 4a.*] the fortune of their troops in the transfer to Peshawar; and that their lives were in the hands of their men. The men replied that they would not be deceived by the false pretext of the officers. They said that they were in the same position as their *Sikh* brethren. At Peshawar there was no enemy to be faced, no expedition to be undertaken, and there was no imperative need of their presence there. After this alteration and mutiny, the *Fauj-i-Khas* became like the other brigades of the Sikh army, flouting the authority of their officers, who reported this fact to the *Sarkar.*

About this time a news-letter was received from Rai Kishan Chand, announcing that, in view of the general disorder in the Punjab, the British said that the Sikhs all over the Punjab had gone mad and had set their house on fire and that their neighbours feared that the fire might spread to their own house. Consequently the English *Company Bahadur*[1] had decided to strengthen the frontier. News from Ludhiana told that at Nandpur, a trans-Sutlej possession of the Lahore *Sarkar,* a dispute had taken place among the Sodhis about some property, causing bloodshed. Najib Khan, *Risaldar* of the Muslim regiment, who had gone there, to put down the disorder, had been killed. The Lahore *Sarkar* could not control the situation. Since Nandpur was a place of pilgrimage of the Sikhs, and the *Jagirs* of

1. The Honourable East India Company.

of the Sodhis were situated close to it; and since the Sodhis had begun to collect men, the *Sarkar* of the Company stationed the forces of a hill Raja near Nandpur, in order to settle the dispute and to stop the gathering of the Sikhs in the town and the villages in the *Jagir* of the Sodhis. And as a measure of prudence the Sahibs enquired why a body of Sikh troops of the Lahore *Sarkar* had been staying in a certain village across the river Sutlej.

On receiving this news, the real well-wishers of the State (of Lahore) were perturbed that the confusion and disturbance created by the stupid and short-sighted Sikh soldiers and their defiance of the governing authority had caused disorder on the frontier and had aroused suspicion. There had been a time when the glorious Sahibs had themselves sought military help in the campaign of *Khorasan*[1] and had felt fully satisfied with the attitude of the Lahore *Sarkar*. Again the late Maharaja was so confident of the abiding friendship of the English, that during the apprehended invasion of Peshawar, when Dost Muhammad Khan had personally led large forces for its recapture, he had marched to Peshawar with all his troops and guns leaving less than one-tenth of his forces in the rest of the Punjab, withdrawing troops even from the garrisons of the forts. As a result of the firm and stable friendship of the Company all had gone well in the Punjab. But now the insubordination of the soldiers, on top of their earlier misdeeds had [*f. 4 b.*] brought the administration to confusion. None, great or small, dared admonish them for their indiscipline for fear of losing honour and life. The army declared that the British had no right to administer the trans-Sutlej possessions of the Lahore government. What had happened at Siri Anandpur might occur elsewhere also.

It was learnt from *Poorbeahs* who came from Hindustan that British troops were being continuously moved up to Ludhiana. They (the Sikh soldiers) suspected from this that those at the helm of affairs at Lahore were in league with the British. The *Maharani*[2] nursed a grudge against the army on account of the murder of her brother, Sardar Jawahar Singh. They would not let the state of Lahore slip from their hands. Extracts from their scriptures were being circulated by the *Nihangs*, *Akalis* and *Granthis* to the

1. The first Afghan War, 1839. The reference here is, of course, to the participation of the Lahore Durbar in the restoration of Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul under the stipulations of the Tripartite treaty.

2. The Queen-Mother, Rani Jind Kaur.

effect that the Sikhs would rule from east to west and that they would occupy the throne of Delhi. In Hindi they declared (verse):

"The army of the Guru shall sit on the throne at Delhi; the fly-whisk shall be waved over its head and it shall have everything according to its desire."

Further they said that battle against the British was as sacred to them as bathing in the holy Ganges and would be in full conformity with the tenets of their religion. They said that they did not love their present leaders as they loved the old. They would bring back Raja Gulab Singh and make him *Wazir*. It became apparent that the whole Sikh army had taken the evil path. The plans of the British for the defence of the frontier were suspected to be a cloak for the occupation of the Cis-Sutlej possessions of the Lahore government and the troops believed that the State of Lahore had made a secret arrangement to this effect with the Company.[1] They declared that their crossing the Sutlej would be as meritorious as a pilgrimage to the holy Ganges. They did not like the movements of the British troops, although it was within their rights to move forces in their own country towards the frontier. Daily they passed such wishes as news. Occurrence of bloodshed by the Sikh troops at Lahore was consequently expected.

One day the *Maharani* in the presence of the courtiers and officers declared to the men of every brigade and *dera* that she had reconciled her mind to the murder of her brother, Sardar Jawahar Singh. She wished them (the soldiers) to obey her as sons; she harboured no ill-will towards them. Jawahar Singh had been, indeed, foolish and incompetent in the discharge of State duties. She appointed Sardar Tej Singh,[2] a famous veteran to command the *Fauj-i-Gair-Ain*. The administration of the country, too, was clearly explained. The mutinies among the troops resulted in confusion, loss of State income and disorder on the frontier. The soldiers readily believed any rumour. Summaries of any news received from the various parts of the dominion and o. any despatch received from Rai Kishan Chand, their trusted *Vakil*,[3] would be communicated to them (the army). The *Maharaja* (Dalip Singh) was a minor. The protection of the lives and property of the people and regard for their own livelihood should rest upon the

1. The East India Company.
2. The Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army.
3. The political agent of the Lahore Durbar at Ludhiana.

[*f.* 5*a.*] army. They were both subjects and guardians. Since they had gone astray, they would be required to declare in writing at the *Samadh* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, whose salt they had eaten, that they would obey their officers in everything and would execute the orders of the *Sarkar* under all circumstances. As customary among the Khalsa, "*Kara Parshad*" would be distributed among them. Four months' salary would be paid to them and they would be required to retire to camp 100 *kroh* from Lahore, and should refrain from high-handedness. If they settled down peacefully, order in the country and tranquillity on the frontier could be assured, as in the reign of the Great Maharaja. Their insubordination gave the glorious Sahibs evidence of the disorganisation in the kingdom of Lahore, so that they (the British) determined to reinforce the frontier. The troops agreed to go to the *Samadh* of the Great Maharaja and to declare in writing that they would obey their officers and camp some *kroh* away from Lahore according to the orders of the *Rani;* and on the 9th of Maghar (22nd November, 1845) they gave this promise. It was further ordered that a letter containing the proceedings should be sent to Rai Kishan Chand, who should be asked if this satisfied the British.

The irregular cavalry, who were in complete agreement with the Regular Army in their acts of omission and commission, learned of the arrangement that the troops were to be stationed at a distance from Lahore, and expected that they would be sent away later on. They said that they could move easily and perform their duties from any place. So they went to Raja Lal Singh and their officers and requested their transfer as well. It was approved; and they were ordered to Manala and Bahdana to settle quietly there in groups. Accordingly the cavalry, with the batteries of Maghi Khan, Amir Chand and Raja Lal Singh left Lahore on the 11th Maghar (24th November, 1845), and on the first day reached Shalabag and Amb Dhatura[1]. After two more marches they arrived at Manala[2] and Bhadana,[3] where they were stationed in groups. The *Fauj-i-Khas* and the brigades of Sardar Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh were encamped in the plain of Mianmir from 10—14 Maghar (23rd—27th November, 1845). After receiving their pay on the 15th Maghar (28th November, 1845), the *Fauj-i-Khas* was stationed at Malikpur.

1. 2. and 3. Villages in the Lahore District south-east of the city. The farthest Bhadana, is about 20 miles distant. In order to avoid military interference in political affairs at the capital it was arranged to divide the troops into small groups and to station them at distant places.

The brigades of Sardar Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh were ordered to Rora and the brigade of Rattan Singh Mann was ordered to Dhaori. On the 16th Maghar (29th November, 1845) communication was set up by local Sikhs between the brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas* and the *dera* of cavalry, which were encamped some *krohs* apart so that they could act together. [*f. 5b.*] In every *dera* signs of insolence on the part of the soldiers reappeared as if no solemn written assurance had been given at the *Samadh* of the Great Maharaja. Observing this the senior officers instructed the juniors to discipline the troops, reminding them of their solemn promise of obedience and good conduct, and the purpose for which they were stationed there. But these orders had a contrary effect. The troops of every brigade in the camp retorted by committing further irregularities. Everywhere the officers were summoned by the troops, who asserted that the British garrison at Ferozepore, which was inadequate, was receiving reinforcements from Hindustan. There was at that place a sum of Rs. 18 lacs held in trust from Raja Suchet Singh and such other treasure. All the brigades and *deras* of the Sikhs, regular and irregular had, therefore, decided to march upon Ferozepore. The brigades stationed in the Manjah territory, at Lahore and at Shahdara had also agreed to this plan. It was impossible to dissuade them and indeed any who attempted to do so would be adequately dealt with. In short, the whole army on this side of the Sutlej was to be mobilised. They would cross to Ferozepore, seize the treasure lying there and, until they occupied Delhi, they would observe the strictest Hindu vows. They would take the revenue of London itself from the British.

Becoming aware that the entire army was bent upon mischief the officers feared for their lives and honour. They decided among themselves that the officers of every brigade and *dera* should keep each other informed, if the insubordination of the troops threatened their safety. Some Sikh officers who were kinsmen of the soldiers, were made to understand that their conduct was not approved and they were warned to be more prudent. It was expected that this warning would be circulated among the soldiers. The discussion between the officers and the troops followed these lines.

It was asserted that the Great Maharaja, who had acquired vast resources, had the greatest regard for the friendship of the English, as was known the world over, and that it was evident that he had extended his dominions up to Peshawar in strict compliance

with that true friendship. He had entertained every employee of the Company in a befitting manner and sought in every way to confirm the friendship between the two governments, never dreaming of encroaching upon Ferozepore or other British territories. The troops agreed that this was so, but that by the time the Khalsa (the Sikh army) had developed its full strength and had become capable of open combat, the Great Maharaja had become aged and lost his vigour. Somebody then asked them if they now intended to show their valour by sacrificing themselves, [*f. 6a.*] since such a war meant bloodshed and slaughter, whether their proposal included obedience to the order of their master to cross the river. They replied that by the order of the Khalsa they had unanimously decided to march across the Sutlej. Somebody asked them if Rs. 18 lakhs, which was held as a trust from Raja Suchet Singh belonged to the government of the Punjab or to the army which had now become its master. It was suggested that the treasure could not be procured without the consent of Raja Gulab Singh, brother of Raja Suchet Singh and that the Sikhs should stay their hand. They replied that they would seize that wealth and also the British treasure. When told that in crossing the Sutlej they would break a long-standing alliance, an act which required deep consideration, they recklessly answered that the Cis-Sutlej territory also belonged to the Lahore government. The Khalsa had great ambitions for which it was fully equipped. Their part was to achieve them. Even if they were destined to defeat, they could afterwards go back to their lands. They were reminded of the solemn oath that they had given in writing at the *Samadh* of the Great Raja, which had been sent to Rai Kishan Chand with the expectation that a satisfactory reply would come from him. To this they retorted that they would not be satisfied unless their claims were conceded. They were told that such talk and schemes were futile; the fort at Ferozepore was filled with war material and a large garrison. The troops resented these warnings. They were told that the British were the rulers of the whole world and possessed a vast territory, army, cleverness, courage and treasure, and that it was impossible to oppose them. On the contrary, it would be easier for them (the British) to capture the Punjab, because Ferozepore was hardly 40 *krohs* from Lahore and Amristsar. But it would be extremely difficult for them (the Sikhs) to take Ferozepore and

Ludhiana. On hearing such statements the troops abused the men who made them in public or private. The officers (who shared such views) were rudely denounced in the committees and gatherings of the Sikh troops. At this time the infantry brigades were stationed at five towns, and the cavalry, which had marched before the *Fauj-i-Ain*, was encamped at twelve places at the towns of Bhadana and Sur Singh. But all advice by their comrades and exhortation by the officers had no effect on the troops. It produced no other result than the exchange of hot words and the revelation of their short-sightedness and lack of understanding and the further disorganisation of government and menaces of blows and death to the officers. After discussion among the sections of the army, the *Fauj i-Ain* decided to march from its present stations to Qadian in the Manjah territory and to the east of the Sutlej, and on the 24th Maghar (7th December, 1845), it set forth, some of them, in two stages and others in three stages, reaching Qadian, where [*f. 6b.*] they assembled. The soldiers of the *Fauj-i-Ain* sent *sowars* to collect boats and bring them to this side of the crossing at Harike. The irregular cavlary had followed them in defiance of the orders of their officers whom they abused, and threatened with maltreatment and death. A few *sowars* selected from each *dera* proposed that they should encamp at Barwala. On their way they sacked the villages as if they were in enemy territory. If anyone protested that this was not Yusafzai territory or the neighbourhood of Peshawar they replied that the Sikh army had always plundered those regions and to do the same for once in their home country mattered little ; so they took grain at their own price, cut trees for fuel and indiscriminately confiscated fodder for their horses from those villages. If one of the troops' camels fell ill or was injured, they would take an officer's camel, if he had two. The officer dared not protest. If some *zamindar* came to a large tent, taking it to be that of an officer, to lodge a complaint, the officer had his curtains lowered, out of fear, and sent the man to identify the soldier, who had wronged him and then report. The offender would hide himself; or, if found would deny the offence done. Even if the case was proved only one-tenth of the goods was returned. Everywhere they evaded check in the same way. Many inhabitants had grievances against the army and cursed their oppressors and wished for their destruction. If soldiers belonging to the locality were present, it was not plundered. At

such places things were purchased at a nominal price. The irregulars stationed at Bhadana, Nurpur and Naushahra looted the district with little restraint. Some resident officials opposed these outrages. In consequence a quarrel broke out and the villagers suffered great loss. Raja Lal Singh tried his best to intervene, but in vain and compensated the villagers from his own pocket. One or two soldiers who had been put under arrest were released by their comrades, who took the law into their own hands. Raja Lal Singh and the officers were abused by the army, and threatened with death or degradation and forbidden to interfere. The soldiers removed the autumn harvest wherever they found it lying in the fields and carried away fodder from the houses of the zamindars. Sardar Ganda Singh Kunjahia was secretly sent by Raja Lal Singh to chide the officers of the *Fauj-i-Ain* for their failure to control the men.

[*f. 7a.*] The *sowars* of the irregular army joined their comrades in the regular army. They reported that the irregular cavalry had arrived at a shallow place to cross the river. They were asked if there were boats available for the Sikhs of the *Fauj-i-Ain* to transport their artillery. They were told that regular *sowars* had gone towards Harike to collect boats. They should bring along their guns and boats would be procured; but more brigades should be brought from Lahore to that place. During the two days 24th and 25th Maghar (7th and 8th December, 1845) they halted at Qadian.

The first question which the soldiers asked each other was whether all the officers were present; and they confirmed that all of them were there. On learning this they congratulated themselves, declaring that the officers were so helpless that they had no other alternative, unless they took to the air or went underground. If they should desert, the homes of all of them would be at the mercy of the troops. After venting their relief they reaffirmed the need to keep a close watch on the officers. They said that delay in sending troops from Lahore was a subterfuge and that in return for every place (handed over to the British) the officers were to receive payment from the *Sarkar* of the *Companv Bahadur*[1]. It was suspected that the officers and the State authorities were in league with the *Sarkar Companv*[2]. They argued that the *Hindustani*[3] and *Malwai*[4]

1. The Honourable East India Company.
2. The Government of the East India Company.
3. Those belonging to Hindustan—the interior of the country beyond the Sutlej.
4. Those belonging to Malwa or the territory to the south of the river Sutlej.

officers had their homes across the Sutlej and, were therefore, favourably inclined towards the British and so wished to frighten them by praising the greatness of the British. But the *Khorasanis* (Afghans), who had been defeated by the Sikhs, had in turn driven the British out of Kabul. Again, as the wealth of all the officers, like that of Raja Suchet Singh, was at Ferozepore, they opposed the advance of the Sikh army, lest it should be plundered. They were also afraid of losing their own lives. They declared in the face of the officers that they (the soldiers) received only Rs. 12 a month in pay, while they (the officers) got thousands of rupees per year, so that there was no reason for the officers to hesitate in declaring war. The officers submissively replied that everything was in the hands of the army and that they (the officers) only wished them to act to their advantage.

In the meantime Sikh recruits began to pour into the *deras* from the *Manjha* hoping to share in the plunder of Ferozepore. It was also said that after the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej they would be joined by the Sikhs of the Malwa, who would swell their numbers, because they already had many relatives in the Sikh army.

On the 26th Maghar (9th December, 1845) the brigade of the *Fauj-i-Khas* and the brigades of Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh marched to Jhangi, about three *kroh* from Qadian on this side of the river. They then proposed that according to plan, the irregular army should advance to the river to the right of the crossing at Harike, east of which lay Ferozepore, and announce their arrival to the cavalry and to those at Ferozepore. After consultation among themselves, they advised their officers that heavy fire should be opened. The officers replied that they might do what they pleased, since everything was in their hands. So heavy fire was opened that night, which it was presumed would be heard at Ferozepore and by the regular army. Two days afterwards, that is, on the 28th Maghar [*f. 7b.*] (11th December, 1845) all three brigades marched from Jhangi to Nathianwala on the bank of Sutlej towards Harike on the road from Ferozepore. The soldiers in a body demanded of the officers an assurance in writing that a wounded man should receive his pay as usual and that the pay of any one who should be killed should be handed to his heirs, to a son or brother, if there were one. The officers replied that that was not within their power, but that they would petition the *Sarkar* to that effect. Accordingly they obtained from the officers a petition with seals affixed and kept

it as a record. They said that the officers were without match-locks and that each of them should carry one like the soldiers for without a rifle an officer could not fight. The officers agreed; and so they and the men were equal. That day the officers, who were chagrined at their helplessness before an insubordinate army, held a secret meeting. They deplored that they were about to commit a breach of faith; that after crossing the river a battle would ensue; that the power, resources and conquering capacity of the British Government were known all over India. They deplored it all the more, that there was no reason in their favour; and obviously they would break the alliance[1] which the Great Maharaja had respected throughout his life.

At that time the men asked the officers why they did not give orders as they used to do in the days of the Great *Maharaja.* Absentees should be put under arrest and discipline should be enforced as before. Parades should be ordered as was being done at Ferozepore during those days. Roll-call should also be introduced. Hearing this the officers were at first surprised. They said among themselves that such questions from their men were a good sign. To humour the men, they replied that those officers had joined service during the time of the Great *Maharaja.* Just as among the men there were those who had done long service and those recently recruited; so among the officers there were old and new. They would try to arrive at a decision among themselves and communicate it to the men. They tried to make the men realise that in the opinion of the whole world the Great *Maharaja's* death was a calamity for the Punjab; but he hadbequeathed to the country a united and effective government. He raised an army of its own inhabitants in order to maintain its prosperity. He foresaw that his subjects would have the interest of the State more at heart than his descendants or successors. He had concluded the treaty with the Company Bahadur; and it was meant to be carefully observed from generation to generation. Now everything rested in their hands. Maharaja Dalip Singh was very young and little concerned with affairs. They fully agreed with the men as to the necessity for discipline, regular parades, the taking of roll-call [*f. 8a.*] and punishment of defaulters; after all, this had been their life-work.

After expressing these wishes to their officers, they requested them to pluck up courage and restore the old discipline in the army.

1. Treaty of Amritsar, 25th April, 1809.

The officers felt gratified with the answer and told the men that if they wished to maintain the reputation of the Great *Maharaja*, and preserve his achievements, they should obey the orders of the officers; and these orders were emphatically that they should desist from crossing the river and breaking the long-standing alliance. Afterwards they would rue having done so. They could do what they liked in the trans-Sutlej territory. On hearing this all those present, numbering about 2,000, replied with one voice that they would obey all orders, except that to refrain from crossing the river. Immediately afterwards the various groups of men who were present dispersed, saying that after taking their meals they would bring their officers to inspect the bridges. The officers looked at each other in amazement and went to their *deras*. After taking their meals men from every brigade went to the river to inspect the proposed bridges, carrying their officers with them as if dead. They found that the space between the camp and the bank of the river consisted of sand, marsh and shallow water, so they changed their mind about camping there and returned after having inspected the bridge, which existed in name only, for there was only one boat, over which was set a guard. On the 29th Maghar (12th December, 1845) an English officer with 100 *sowars* had come from the direction of Ferozepore to reconnoitre the bridge, and the guard on the boat fired at them. On the same day twelve more boats were brought by *sowars* specially sent for the purpose and these were equally divided among the troops of Mehtab Singh, Bahadur Singh and the *Fauj-i-Khas*. It was learned from the Sikhs who had come from their homes or had lagged behind, that on the following day the banner of the brigades of Rattan Singh would also reach the bridge. Eleven more boats were received. After some discussion about their distribution among the brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh, they began to cross the river on the 1st Poh (14th December, 1845). While the three brigades were crossing the river, the brigade of Rattan Singh Man also reached the bridge and using the boats of all three brigades which returned from the other bank of river Sutlej, began to cross the river. [*f. 8b.*] By mid-day of the 2nd Poh (15th December, 1845) all the three brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh had completely crossed over. One boat sank and the men and material in it were lost. The brigades of Rattan Singh Man had hardly crossed, when the banners of the brigades of Kanh Singh Man and Sardar Shamsher Singh Sandhanwalia,

along with the Sikh volunteers, arrived there. On reaching the crossing place they seized the same boats. On the 2nd Poh (15th December, 1845), the brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, Mehtab Singh, Bahadur Singh and Rattan Singh Man had crossed to the other side of the river towards Ferozepore. (A certain zamindar, son of the Chaudhari of Mastike was killed on that day by a soldier, to pay off an old score). On the 3rd Poh (16th December, 1845), the brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, Mehtab Singh, Bahadur Singh and Rattan Singh Man marched from the neighbourhood of Mastike and encamped between the town of Attari and the stream called Sukhne, three and half *kroh* from Ferozepore. The irregular cavalry, taking the artillery with it, crossed the river in boats from Harike and encamped on the bank. After one halt, they made a forced march and reached the neighbourhood of Mullanwala. It had been arranged that each *dera* of the Sikhs should be kept informed about the movements of the others. Accordingly as soon as the Sikhs of the regular army informed the irregular army about the advance of certain brigades towards Ferozepore on Poh 3 (16th December, 1845), some hundreds of *sowars* of the cavalry brought Raja Lal Singh and other officers to the camp of the regular army and made an agreement with the Sikh soldiers that on the following day, Poh 4 (17th December, 1845), the camp of the irregular troops should join the regular army. Subsequently a plan of action would be decided upon. On their way back Raja Lal Singh and his officers tactfully met the officers of the *Fauj-i-Ain* in the open ground to decide about the am algamation of the *dera*. He referred to a copy of a letter of the British Government, which had stated that the results of the breach of the alliance and the crossing of the army to the other side of the Sutlej would be disastrous for the Lahore *Sarkar*. It was also made clear that the intention of the government of the Company was merely to strengthen the frontier defences. He (Raja Lal Singh) also invited their attention to the despatch of Rai Kishan Chand in which he expressed great surprise at the crossing and breach of alliance without any ostensible reason. He (Kishan Chand) had also pointed out that no good would come of such a foolhardy action of the Sikh army now or in the future. He (Raja Lal Singh) also mentioned the order of the *Sarkar*, which required them (the officers) by every possible means to prevent the troops from crossing to the other side of the river. So long as they should remain on

the trans-Sutlej side towards *Manjah* everything could be controlled. He (Raja Lal Singh) added his own conviction, that both the regular and irregular troops seemed to rival each other in short-sightedness, in their desire for war and their haste. Both were set upon the breach of the alliance. He stated that even if at that time they would withdraw towards *Manjah*, there would be still hope for safety. The officers of the regular and irregular army declared in the [*f. 9a.*] presence of Raja Lal Singh that they had tried their best to dissuade the army since they marched from their first camp and at every subsequent halt. They said that on the following day in the joint camp of the regular and irregular troops they would once more say all they *could*, if they could be heard. Otherwise everything would rest with the troops.

At that time the officers of the irregular troops reported that they had learned from a camel driver who arrived with some papers, that Sardar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, had ordered the brigade of Mewa Singh Majithia to Dera Ismail Khan. Accordingly that brigade was encamped at Shahdara. Besides, the *Panches* of the brigades who had gone to Jammu had come back and reported that Raja Gulab Singh had said that he would leave for Lahore on receipt of an invitation from the *Sarkar*, but that he was not prepared to comply with their verbal message. The said brigade and the Sikhs of the other brigades had a letter written, under menaces, to the effect that Raja Gulab Singh should be sent for, and despatched it. The same brigade, after consultation among themselves, obtained orders from the *Sarkar* by force to join the rest of the army and by their own will, marched to join it. At last Sardar Tej Singh himself saw that the brigade of Mewa Singh might create trouble at Lahore and realised that the brigades of Kanh Singh Man, Shamsher Singh and Chattar Singh were disaffected towards him (Tej Singh). He therefore decided to move from Lahore. On that day Poh 3 (16th December, 1845) after the crossing of the artillery of Rattan Singh Man, first the brigade of Kanh Singh and then in turn the brigades of Shamsher Singh and Chattar Singh decided to cross the river. At that stage the officers despaired of dissuading the troops. They found that all the Sikh troops from there to Shahdara were unanimous; so they dispersed. On the morning of the 4th Poh (17th Decemher, 1845), the irregular army, Raja Lal Singh, his artillery and the four brigades encamped

on this side of the Sukhne stream. The officers of the regular and irregular army met groups from every brigade and camp gathered at the camp of Raja Lal Singh. The officers intended to talk about the papers which had come from Lahore, when the men, who had got news of the arrival of papers on seeing the camel driver, asked them (the officers) if the papers had reached them. Raja Lal Singh and the officers of both the regular and irregular troops seized the opportunity and to humour the troops, asked whether they would like to know about those papers in detail or in brief. The men replied that the papers had been read by them (the officers) and that they should let them know their substance. Being afraid of the men, the officers reported only the gist of the despatch of the British Government, the letter of Rai Kishen Chand and the despatch of the *Sarkar*, demanding to know why the men wanted to cross the Sutlej and break the alliance. The Sikhs replied that the contents of the despatch were misrepresented and intended to deceive them. They had received [*f. 9b.*] reliable and authentic reports from the Sikhs who had come from the *Malwa* (Cis-Sutlej) territory and it was certain that the British troops were shortly due to arrive there. The insubordinate troops began to plan among themselves for the combat. Raja Lal Singh and all the officers, high and low, were overawed by the soldiers. Sometimes the men came to them and made proposals for the battle. At others, being displeased with their cold reply that everything rested with the men, they abused them.

On the 5th Poh (18th December, 1845) it was learned that the Governor-General was advancing with large reinforcements by way of Mudki to Ferozepore. The Sikhs próposed that Raja Lal Singh, the cavalry and the three brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh should march from there and should encamp opposite the Governor-General. Sardar Tej Singh Bahadur and the brigades of Kanh Singh Man, Sardar Shamsher Singh, Chattar Singh, Mewa Singh and the artillery and regiments which were on their way to cross the Sutlej and were to join them there were required to remain there for the purpose of attacking Ferozepore ; while the brigade of Rattan Singh Man and some other troops which were to be left there according to requirements would join Sardar Tej Singh in addition to his own brigades. On the same day instead of a general march they decided to beat the drums five times. The brigade of Rattan Singh Man, the artillery and some other

troops remained there. Raja Lal Singh marched with the cavalry, the brigade of the *Fauj-i-Khas*, the brigade of Mehtab Singh and the brigade of Bahadur Singh. Although it was a moonlit night, yet on account of disorder among the soldiers they lost the way. The village of Sultan Khan, which lay on the way, was set on fire by the Sikhs in order to warm themselves, so that the place was destroyed. A little before daybreak they reached Pheroshahr, where they encamped round the big walls of the place which formed a fort. To the west, opposite Ferozepore, was the *Fauj-i-Khas* ; and from the south to the north-east, in the direction of the road to *Mudki*[1] and Jira (or Zira), the brigades of Mehtab Singh, Bahadur Singh, the irregular forces and the batteries and howitzers attached to them were encamped. Raja Lal Singh and the officers were in the centre. As the men had lost their way, they wandered like a caravan.

Ganda Singh Nihang the officer in charge of the *Nihangs*, confident that the horse could go anywhere on earth and could cover any distance, arrived in the neighbourhood of Mudki. There they captured an Englishman and some servants, who had arrived there in the train of the Governor-General, and sent them to the Sikh camp. They intimated the arrival of *the dera* of the *Nawab*[2] as soon as possible. [*f. 10a.*] All the Sikh soldiers were fatigued on account of their having lost their way throughout the night. Some were still joining up from behind. It was announced that half the troops would take to the field. But the soldiers who were fit enough to move made up only half their numbers, and these went, taking Raja Lal Singh and the officers of the regular and irregular troops with them. The cavalry and the men of the brigades of Mehtab Singh, Bahadur Singh and the *Fauj-i-Khas* followed in that order. The *dera* of the Governor-General had arrived at Mudki. On receipt of the news of the arrival of the Sikh army, the (British) regiments and artillery prepared for action and advanced about one *kroh*. The Sikhs opened fire first and the British guns replied. Some riderless horses from a British regiment opposite the Sikh cavalry got out of control and galloped into the Sikh lines, killing some of the Sikhs, but others fired, thinking that British cavalry were charging them. In the

1. A large village about 20 miles east of Ferozepore. Here the first of the four fiercely contested engagements of the First Sikh was fought on the 18th December, 1845.

2. The Governor-General.

confusion which followed they fell into panic and fled firing in all directions. In reply the British sent over shells of various kinds.

The land between the two armies was overgrown with large bushes, trees and hedges so that the two armies could not see each other clearly. Bahadur Singh's brigade was the first to face the British forces with guns and matchlocks and was defeated. Similarly the *Fauj-i-Khas* with its artillery joined the battle, but after a couple of hours they also were thrown back. At dusk the British forces were facing Mehtab Singh's brigade who thought that the *Fauj-i-Khas* had arrived. In their relief they shouted "*Fateh Wah Guru*" (Victory to our Guru) whereupon the British troops opened fire on them with guns and muskets. The men of Mehtab Singh's brigade replied with two rounds from their guns and a little dispirited rifle fire and then broke. When night fell, the British troops still held their ground. The Sikhs retired from the field, abandoning some of their guns, and withdrew to Pheroshahr camp. The regular and irregular cavalry had brought their baggage on mules and ponies and in their flight from the British, they had to abandon much of their baggage and ammunition.

The battle occurred on the 6th Poh (19th December, 1845), at the Pheroshahr camp. There was much mutual recrimination among the Sikh troops. The soldiers said that they were defeated because they had made a double march and had lost their way and arrived tired. Moreover, the reinforcement of the other half of their army had not reached them according to plan. [*f. rob.*] And above all night had fallen on them. Those who had remained in the camp, on account of losing their way, said that they (the vanquished) had shown themselves to be worthless. They boasted that they would show their own mettle in the next battle and would do wonders. And so the quarrel went on.

On the morning of 9th Poh (22nd December, 1845), news was brought that the Nawab Governor-General Bahadur's army had drawn off to the left *via* Beraha, south of the Sikh camp, towards Ferozepore, and were to be replaced by fresh troops on that day. The Sikhs were misled into rejoicing at this, thinking that the British had taken shelter in the fort at Ferozepore and were trying to evade them. The cavalry abused Raja Lal Singh and set out in search of plunder, taking him and the officers with them. Some regiments of the regular army also marched out, believing that a baggage

train was exposed and would be an easy prey for them. But they did not take the heavy guns with them as they were with the infantry. When they received the news that a British force was on the march nearby, the regular infantry demanded of their officers that they should seize such a good opportunity for loot. The officers replied that they could do what they liked, but that the news was of a movement of British troops from Ferozepore. On hearing this two battalions of the *Fauj-i-Khas* with their artillery, went west by their own will. A beggar appeared who said he was a servant of Bokhan Khan in the cavalry, and reported to the Khalsa troops that one British force had come from Ferozepore and another from Mudki and the two had joined. One of the Sikhs said that this force might have come to escort the army of Nawab Governor-General Bahadur to Ferozepore, that arms and ammunition were probably being distributed among the British troops. On hearing this the Khalsa soldiers said that the British force with the Governor-General had probably been bringing reinforcements to Ferozepore. On learning this the two battalions of *Fauj-i-Khas* returned to camp. The irregular cavalry, which had gone south-west, and the regular regiments, which had marched west also returned, leaving some *sowars* to reconnoitre.

The men of the regular and irregular regiments were angry that the indolence of the officers had lost them an opportunity of plundering the English camp. They spoke roughly to Raja Lal Singh and the officers and accused them of aiding the British. The higher officers were oppressed by the thought that they were going to die so futilely. With tears in their eyes they repeated the name of the Great Maharaja, saying that he had trained the regular and irregular troops at great cost and with great care and had also scrupulously maintained friendship with the English. But the treaty had been broken by their folly and the army was going to its destruction, while they were quite helpless in their humiliation.

[*f. 11a.* ] The cavalry were very bitter against Raja Lal Singh and their officers and the whole camp began to plot injury to them. The men of the regular army assembled deputies from every company and from the batteries of Bahadur Singh's brigade, which was on the left, to arrange a plot to seize and beat and murder their officers. Deputies from Mehtab Singh's brigade on the right also joined the plot.

They went in the afternoon to the 4th battalion of the regular army, which was called *Sham Sota*, to bind, beat and kill their officers, when suddenly shells from the big guns of the British began to fall among the brigade of the *Fauj-i-Khas*. The Sikhs all stood at once to attention. When the British force appeared opposite them, the guns of the *Fauj-i-Khas* opened fire and the army occupied a trench which they had dug in front of their camp. The *Fauj-i-Khas* prided themselves that under the command of their French officers they had been victorious everywhere in the Punjab. This battle against the British, they thought, would be like their earlier battles. Not doubting the ultimate result and unfamiliar with war against the British, they repeated their earlier boasts, saying that men would see their deeds. At first they opened a steady bombardment with their batteries. Then they opened musketry fire from the trench. Their officers were not allowed to act as such. Everyone followed his own will. The British advanced the left flank of their army against the *Fauj-i-Khas* and drove it back towards the camp of the cavalry, which also possessed guns and howitzers. Battle was also joined with the cavalry on the right. The *Fauj-i-Khas* had to face the right flank of the British, which steadily advanced. The brigades of the *Fauj-i-Khas* and the cavalry were heavily shelled with a variety of projectiles and suffered severe losses in men, horses, artillery, oxen and transport animals. The British guns fired rapidly and were served with skill and courage. Their sound at any distance was quite different from that of the Sikh guns, which were fired by means of a string. Shells rained on the Sikhs and so many of them were wounded that by afternoon their spirit was broken. When they witnessed the [*f. 11b.* ] strength and discipline of the British they were forced to confess that the British proceeded with set purpose while they themselves were chaotic and it became apparent to them that the British were advancing against them at first like a flood in a river and later like the tide in the ocean.

The Sikh regular and irregular armies were encamped around the village of Pheroshahr, but fled in whatever direction they could. In their confusion and panic they could not help one another. The Sikh cavalry, which had proudly declared that it had formed the vanguard in every battle, could not advance against the British guns. Some of them, however, fought alongside their own artillery as long and hard as they could ; but others turned and fled carrying

their own baggage and that of others, lest it should fall into the hands of the English. Raja Lal Singh's camp and that of the artillery which lay east of the village, were completely plundered. Camp-followers who had come with the vain hope of looting Ferozepore, found the Sikhs in retreat, plundered the goods of their fellow countrymen and fled. Suddenly the magazine of the *Fauj-i-Khas* was exploded by a shell from a British gun. Not only were they terribly shaken by this catastrophe, but also many were killed and the Sikh battalions and batteries suffered a complete defeat. The British troops occupied the camp of the *Fauj-i-Khas* and cavalry as it stood. The darkness of that night was as the life of the vanquished. Raja Lal Singh was wounded and a fugitive. All those belonging to the *Fauj-i-Khas* and cavalry who had not fled lay wounded or dead on the field. Some men of the *Fauj-i-Khas* joined the brigades of Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh, which were on the left. At night the English troops retired according to custom; for in the dark friend could not be distinguished from foe. But they had completely defeated their opponents. Huge fires were lit up at intervals opposite the camp of the Sikhs of the brigades of Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh and the other remnants of the defeated army. The Sikhs thought that the British were resting, so they fired some shells in their direction at intervals during the night. Those who were left in the Sikh camp discussed throughout the night whether they should disperse, or collect their artillery and set up the *dera* again elsewhere. But hourly their numbers were dwindling. That night, when the *Fauj-i-Khas* and the cavalry had been defeated and the remnant had fled, the officers, who had been disgusted with the ill-conduct, insolence, disobedience, heedlessness and abusive tone of the men, moved about among the soldiers who were running away and sneered that, far from capturing the fort at Ferozepore with its treasure and the throne of Delhi, according to the sayings of the Gurus, and destroying London and taking a sacred bath in the Ganges and reaping the fruits of their religious war, they had [*f. 12a.*] gained nothing by their aggression. They asked these Sikhs who, when marching wilfully from near Lahore, were entreated by their officers faithfully to observe the treaty with the Company, as it had been maintained by Maharaja Ranjit Singh; and had retorted that by the time the Maharaja had grown old and infirm the Sikh people had become strong — what had

become of that strength to-day. It was indeed the traditional policy of the late Maharaja not to become involved in war against the British. But if anyone, aware of the power of the Company, entreated the men to refrain from crossing the river and breaking the treaty, to the destruction of the State of the Punjab, the Sikhs regarded him as blind and opposed to their interest. They became offensive to their officers taunting them that they were merely afraid of being killed in the battle. But on that day the truth had been revealed, the strength and valour of the British army had been proved. And not one of those foolish Sikhs unless he could recover his obsession by chattering with his comrades could offer a reply. In this way the officers freely gave vent to their feelings.

On the 10th Poh (23rd December, 1845), after sunrise the British army returned to the attack. The brigades of Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh opened fire, but the British wheeled to the right and left and bombarded the Sikhs in such a way that they broke and fled as their comrades had fled on the previous night, with whatever they could carry with them, and made their way towards the Sutlej, leaving none except the wounded and disabled at Pheroshahr. On the previous night, the 9th Poh (22nd December, 1845), the brigades of Kanh Singh Man, Sardar Shamsher Singh, Chatter Singh, Mewa Singh, and the artillery, which had begun to cross the river since the 3rd Poh (16th December), joined the brigade of Rattan Singh Man and the rest of the troops. They had Sardar Tej Singh with them. On learning about the battle of Pheroshahr and hearing the noise of cannon fire, they hastened with Sardar Tej Singh to help the troops opposite Ferozepore and arrived early on the 10th Poh (23rd December). Some *sowars* were sent to bring news of the Sikh army. They reported that the *Singhs* had fled and that the British army had arrived at Pheroshahr and occupied the camp. An artillery battle from a distance ensued between the guns attached to the British cavalry and Sardar Tej Singh's brigade, which formed the vanguard. This brigade got the news that, on learning of the defeat at Pheroshahr, all the brigades had decided to give battle with the Sutlej at their back. So they all encamped at the village of Sultan Khan[1], where that brigade also [*f. 12b.*] returned after the combat with the British. It was two and half *krohs* distant. The British troops encamped at Pheroshahr on

1. A small village about four miles north of Ferozeshah (or Pheroshahr).

the 11th Poh (24th December); the Sikh army marched from Sultan Khan to the bank of the Sutlej; leaving large quantities of ordnance stores and ammunition at the camping-ground and on the way on account of bad organisation and nervousness. In several marches they crossed the river towards Sobranh. Those who had been defeated at Pheroshahr fled in various directions.

## THE END

*Written by Ajudhia Prashad.*

The details of the *deras* mentioned in these [*f. 13a.*] pages are given here, as received from the paymaster's office. The *Bakshis* had prepared the earlier pay-rolls of the *Fauj-i-Ain* and *Fauj-i-be-Ain*. The numbers of the *Fauj-i-Khas* were as follows and are stated separately on this folio :—

| *Battalions.* | *Regiments.* | *Artillery.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 2 | 24 pieces | |
| 2,781 | 1,345 | 352 | 4,478 |

Of these, 150 men were engaged in watch and ward duties at the cantonments. The number of those who went to their homes of their own accord was not known, since the roll-call could not be maintained when the troops became insubordinate

[*f.14a.*] LIST OF THE *DERAS* OF THE *FAUJ-I-AIN* AT THE BATTLE OF PHEROSHAHR

| No. | Name. Brigade. | No. of Deras. Battalions. | Regiments. | No. of guns. | No. of Men. In a Battalion. | In a Regiment. | With a battery. | Total. | Comments. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Brigade of the *Fauj-i-Khas* ... | 4 | 2 | 24 | | | | | |
| 2 | Brigade of Mehtab Singh ... | 4 | 1 | 25 | | | | | |
| 3 | Brigade of Bahadur Singh ... | 4 | 1 | 11 | | | | | |
| Total | 3 Brigades ... | 12 | 4 | 60 | | | | | |

(This form is reproduced in translation precisely as it appears in the original).

[*ff. 14b and 15a.*] List of the *deras* of the mounted *Ghair-i-Ain Fauj* with the howitzers and guns (at Pheroshahr).

| *No.* | *Name of the Dera.* | *No. of Men.* | *No. of Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Dera* of the Orderlies ... | | |
| 2. | Special *dera* ... | | |
| 3. | *Dera* of the bigger Naulakha | | |
| 4. | *Dera* of the smaller Naulakha | | |
| 5. | *Dera* of Kanh Singh Kahnya | | |
| 6. | *Dera* of Pindi ... | | |
| 7. | *Sowars* of Makhan Khan ... | | |
| 8. | *Sowars* of Ganda Singh Kunjahia ... | | |
| 9. | *Dera* of Mandi ... | | |
| 10. | *Sowars* of Bala Singh Mokal ... | | |
| 11. | *Dera* of Kanh Singh Majithia | | |
| 12. | *Sowars* of Sardar Attar Singh and Chattar Singh Kalianwala. | | |
| 13. | *Sowars* of the Jagir of Raja Lal Singh ... | | |
| | 1. *Dera* of Howitzers ... | | |
| | 2. *Dera* of the battery of Makhi Khan. | | |
| | 3. *Dera* of the battery of Amir Chand ... | | |
| | Total of the howitzers and both the batteries ... | | 3 *deras.* |
| | General Total ... | | 16 *deras.* |

و قایع جنگ سبرانه

## [*f. 1a.*] A NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLE OF SOBRANH (SABRAON[1])

The account of the battle of Sobranh is based on reports which were remembered and verified. The author[2] was not on the south side of the Sutlej. The account of the arrival of the Nawab Governor-General Bahadur[3] and the grant of the kingdom to Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur is recorded from the author's personal knowledge, according to the treaty which was written at that time.

[*f. 2a.*] When the Sikh army had crossed to this side of the Sutlej towards Sobranh (Sobraon) and Manjha[4], Sardar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, held a council of officers. He reported to the *Sarkar* that the Sikh troops had been moved to the Sutlej by their imprudence and flagrant recklessness. By fighting against the British without provocation or permission of the *Sarkar*, they had violated the terms of the treaty[5] and had sacrificed the friendship which had existed for the last thirty-seven years. The *Sarkar* was therefore left with no plausible excuse for the insolence, insubordination and indiscipline of the troops. Since the murder of Sardar Jawahar Singh[6], the maternal uncle of the *Sarkar*, the troops had obviously grown more selfish, insolent and stubborn. Over-estimating their strength, they had crossed the Sutlej, fought the British and been defeated. Because of their ignorance and imprudence they had suffered heavy losses and caused further complications by tearing up the treaty[7]. But every Sikh soldier had learned by experience or from his relatives or fellow countrymen the power, military skill and bravery of the British, and had seen in these defeats the disastrous result of disobedience to the orders of their officers. If even now the Sikh troops would desist from evil acts and outrages and would obey the orders of their officers, there was some chance of placating the British Government from this side of the Sutlej. It would not be

1. A small village on the bank of the Sutlej where the last of the four fierce battles of the First Sikh War was fought on February 10th, 1846.
2. Dewan Ajudhia Parshad.
3. Sir Henry Hardinge.
4. Broadly *Manjha* means the middle home of the Sikhs. Here it signifies the country bounded by the rivers Beas and Ravi.
5. The treaty of Amritsar concluded between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the East India Company in 1809.
6. Brother of *Rani* Jind Kaur, mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh. Murdered on 21st September, 1845.
7. The historic treaty of Amritsar, 1809.

surprising, since the British Government was the paramount power, if the Governor-General, knowing that the Punjab was the home of the Sikhs, and learning the true state of affairs from reliable reports should [*f. 2b.*] hear and accept their apology. The officers supported such a proposal and began to enlighten the men as to the true facts. They tried to explain to them that the British were a great people, possessing vast resources of intelligence, courage and wealth. Although those assertions were clearly supported by the defeat of the Sikhs, yet, when they were told by their officers that the enemies of the British never prospered, some remained silent, while others attributed their defeat either to their officers or to the will of God. But alas for the country, for which still worse days lay in store, no one seemed to be convinced by the officers. Instead the *Singhs* deputed by the various brigades of the army met on the bank of the river and discussed what the officers had told them and their own ambitions and plans. Some of the *Fauj-i-Ain* and *Gair-Ain*, who were defeated at Pheroshahr and had lost all their equipment, had gone to their homes and refrained (from further activity); some joined relatives and comrades in the army which had not yet offered battle; and some were anxious to reform their own *dera*. They were all encamped together and sat quiet like a gambler who had lost the game, while the men from the forces which had not yet offered battle reproached them. Many of them attributed their defeat to the will of God; some found fault with their officers; some thought that it was due to lack of co-operation among them during the battle; and some attributed it to the superiority of the British. The men who had not yet fought taunted the defeated, saying that they would give a better account of themselves. They tried to hearten the defeated and consulted together, decrying the officers of the defeated troops when they went near them, and boasted of what they would do. The officers dared not rebuke them, but said among themselves that the men were mad if after the previous encounter, they still talked so recklessly. If they would not listen to the officers who had from the beginning tried to dissuade them from that course, they, like the others, would pay for their stupidity. The battle at Pheroshahr had taken place at night; and darkness had enabled them to save their lives and had helped them otherwise. If battle should be joined again, all those not killed by bullets or cannon balls would be drowned in the river.

[*f. 3a.*] In the meantime some of the *Panches*[1] of the brigades who, when Mewa Singh's brigade was dispatched from Shahdara to Ferozepore, had forced the *Sarkar* to summon Raja Gulab Singh, brought a large paper headed with sayings of the Sikh Gurus called *Jap Ji*. They reported that on receipt of the summons Raja Gulab Singh[2] was ready to obey but only with the general consent of the whole army and after the seals of the officers of every brigade were affixed to that paper. He was not satisfied with the behaviour of the *Singhs*. After the arrival of these deputies, men from every brigade, representing the whole army and the officers of every brigade, as required by their men, signed and sealed the paper and sent it to the Raja. So Raja Gulab Singh was expected to come to Lahore and the Sikhs were pleased to think that he would join them shortly.

One day the men of Mewa Singh's brigade were offended by his plain statement that the British were very strong and would be hard to beat. When he was riding away, his men openly abused him, saying that, when troops were sent to reinforce those at Pheroshahr and had to retire to Sultan Khan, he had rejoiced on learning of the loss of the battle. Again when the officers wanted to keep the Sikh army on this side of the Sutlej and frighten them with the power of the British, he had become a very close associate of Sardar Tej Singh. But the troops were determined to re-cross the Sutlej and fight again. The *Singhs* of all the brigades agreed to march towards Ferozepore on that day and all those present undertook to assemble there. The safety of the officers and Sardars lay only in an undertaking to construct a bridge. Raja Gulab Singh was coming soon. Mewa Singh feared for his life at the hands of the army, but he replied that he was opposed to the proposal of the *Singhs* and the *Khalsa*. After this dispute the men kept quiet. The men of every brigade told their officers that the boats were there and asked that a bridge should be constructed wherever they found the bank of the river sufficiently hard. The men required the officers to go and advise Sardar Tej Singh on their behalf. In the event of delay they would themselves advise him. The officers found all the men present, both those who had fought and those who had not, determined on their evil design.

1. Literally, arbitrators; but here it refers to the deputies of the Sikh soldiery, who formed committees and virtually controlled their officers and the political administration.

2. The last of Dogra brothers, Rajas of Jammu. He assumed *Wizarat* in 1845 at the persistent requests of the soldiery.

So on the following day, after consultation among themselves, they went to the camp of Tej Singh Bahadur, and informed him of the troops' demand. Deputies from every brigade accompanied the officers. Many who acted as secret agents and expected the resumption of war, remained outside the camp, hidden among the mounds of earth in the ploughed fields. [*f. 3b.*] The rest of the men were anxious for news and awaited the return of the officers. They decided among themselves that if the officers and Sardar Tej Singh failed to carry out the proposal to build the bridge that day, or at least to select the site for the bridge by evening, they would punish all the officers and Sardars.

Ultimately, feeling helpless and finding that it could not be avoided, in the presence of the *Sardar*[1] the officers proposed to select the site of the bridge in the evening. At that time the soldiers roundly abused them. God alone knew how depressed the officers felt. They knew that the whole Punjab was doomed. Against their will they went to the bank of the river in the evening, took boatmen with them and, according to their choice, selected the site for the bridge.

On the following morning the bridge was begun as ordered by the army. If delay occurred on any day, an explanation was demanded on the following day. Even though the delay was due to the difficulty of the task, fault was found with the officers. It was attributed to their unwillingness to do the work. For example, they asked for the collection of some thousand oxen laden with provisions. It could not be done immediately ; and the officers were blamed for this. The men forced the *Sardar*[2] to write to the *Sarkar* whatever letters they wanted. He could not refuse. From Lahore they obtained whatever orders they wished written to the officers and *Sardars*. If any hesitation occurred at Lahore in issuing the desired letter, they threatened the authorities that if anything should go amiss, they would kill all of them (Persian proverb omitted).

Chuni Lal a news-writer, came from Lahore because a letter from Sardar Tej Singh had been received at Lahore to the effect that before the completion of the bridge an attempt should be made to negotiate peace with the British. He (Chuni Lal) paid a visit

1. Sardar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief. The *Sardar* was a man of some standing. Though placed at the head of the Sikh soldiery he evinced no enthusiasm in fighting an unprovoked war against the British.
2. Sardar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief.

to the camp of the Governor-General through the good offices of Sardar Tej Singh. But the negotiations sponsored by Sardar Tej Singh and the officers did not progress, on account of the opposition of the unruly *Singhs*. His visits to and fro continued. While the bridge was being constructed, groups of soldiers visited it and warned the labourers not to leave any defect in it. The officers marvelled that the Sikh soldiers, having already suffered a defeat, were still in haste to cross to their doom. [*f. 4a.*]. On the first night after the bridge was completed one Company from every brigade passed over it. After crossing the bridge the men built a small breastwork of sand in front. On that afternoon balls from the light and heavy English guns fell on the bridge-head and camp. The Sikhs replied from this side of the Sutlej. By evening firing ceased on both sides. On the following night more Sikh troops reached the bridge-head and a big breastwork of sand and mud was prepared and a trench was dug around it. The distance between the bridge and entrenchment was less than a *kroh*.[1] Both ends of this semi-circular entrenchment reached the river. The area towards the right of the entrenchment was left open, because of sand and marsh. There was some distance between the bank of the river and the right flank of the *Fauj-i-Khas*. The Sikhs proposed to Sardar Tej Singh Bahadur and the officers that the detachment of *Ghorcharas* and the howitzers and guns should be posted there ; but the open ground was left unoccupied. The *Singhs* again demanded of Sardar Tej Singh and the officers that everything should be done according to their instructions. They (Tej Singh and the officers) should take whatever troops were required from their own brigade proportionately and post them there. So it was decided to send troops ; but the ground was damp and marshy as it was winter. Each brigade felt that after detailing men their strength would be reduced. So this step was postponed. Sentries from every brigade and two new battalions were posted for the protection of the bridge. Groves of trees near the town of Sobranh (Sobraon) were cut down ; some were used as fuel and others were brought into the entrenchment, so that the clump was cleared. A tower in the open ground east of the entrenchment was held by a small British garrison. When the Sikh entrenchment was enlarged, the British troops abandoned the post, which came within the right

1 A road measure nearly two miles in length.

flank of the brigade of Mewa Singh. The Sikh troops remained there till the day of defeat. Opposite the bridge and in front of the English troops a *morcha* was being constructed from the day the bridge was begun. It was now also completed. Once the British had occupied that place. The house of a zamindar stood in front of it. From that house the British all day examined the Sikh entrenchment through telescopes. Sometimes in the morning or evening the British paraded in front of the *morcha*, opposite the entrenchment, but no firing took place from either side. The distance between the armies was a *kroh* or so. [*f.4b.*]. The *Singhs* also paraded in front of their entrenchment. Nobody dared call the roll of those present there. It rested with the troops to ask the officers to hold parades or not. Raja Lal Singh* had been wounded in the battle at Pheroshahr and had fled towards Jullundur, but he and some others were arrested by the *Fauj-i-Ain*. By some means he had escaped and, travelling *via* Amritsar, joined the mounted soldiers. Kanh Singh Majithia and other officers of the cavalry had gone to bring him. At Sobranh (Sabraon) he was brought into the cavalry camp in a palanquin, as his wound had not yet healed. He feared to tell his story.

One day Sardar Tej Singh Bahadur with a number of officers was going towards the entrenchment, when a long-bearded soldier, who belonged to the brigade of Shamsher Singh Sindhanwalia, shouted to him from inside the entrenchment, demanding that the Sardar should stop and listen to him. He stopped, in order to avoid trouble and the officers also stopped. The said soldier began to talk about the plans for the battle and the sayings of the *Gurus* with regard to the future of the *Khalsa*. He spoke disparagingly of the officers and described them as cowards, lacking in zeal. None from the Sardar and the officers down to the orderlies, who were with him, dared check the fellow, who stood combing his long beard and talking nonsense for a long time. Everyone was amazed at this episode with the Commander-in-Chief, but no one dared intervene. Though the officers, staff and soldiers of that brigade were all there, nobody had the power to silence or reprove the soldier, until one of his comrades in the same regiment decided to check the fellow and cursed him for his insolence and shut him up. It was only then

* After the murder of Sardar Jawahar Singh in September 1845, he was nominated *Wazir* in November 1845. His reputation was highly dubious on account of his connection with Rani Jindan.

that the Sardar had the courage to come forward. The occurrence reflected badly on the men of the brigade to which the soldier belonged ; so the soldiers of the brigade in order to make amends to the Sardar, brought the man before him on the following day and required him (Tej Singh) to punish him. The Sardar replied that as their lives and honour were in the men's hands it was also in their power to punish this fellow. The soldiers imprisoned him for some days and then released him. It is true that the drums were beaten in honour of the Sardar. But it would need a whole book to record all the talk of plans of battle which still went on after the ceremonial salute by the *Singhs* of every brigade. Every scheme revealed their lack of intelligence, imprudence and folly. So deplorable was the state of affairs that soldiers constantly loitered about the Sardar's tent day and night, whether he was in conference or was alone or even asleep, questioning the sentry about him. Sometimes before the sentry answered, the Sardar himself enquired loudly, to which brigade the visitor belonged and brought him there. [*f. 5a.*] He could not but listen to the visitor lest the man should abuse him or thrust his bayonet through the tent. The men's enquiries hinted at mischief and ill-will and their proposals were impracticable. This happened day and night.

Meanwhile, the *Singhs* of the army brought the news that Raja Gulab Singh had arrived at Lahore and that the *Khilat* of *Wazarat* had been granted him there. But he demanded that an officer and two soldiers from every brigade should proceed to Lahore to satisfy him before he would leave there. The Raja had with him five or six thousand horse and foot as well as guns and howitzers. Immediately an officer and two men from each brigade set out and an officer who had a premonition of the impending disaster, then remarked that the lives of those persons at least would be spared in the forthcoming battle, because of their absence.

There was much talk daily about joining battle, but opinion was divided. Some said that they should await Raja Gulab Singh's arrival, because Sardar Tej Singh and the Sardars were not willing to fight. One day the men held a general assembly. They repeatedly threatened Sardar Tej Singh and the officers and told them that on the following day they would take the offensive. Any officers who did not present themselves fully equipped outside the entrenchment on the following morning would be executed. The

*Sardar* and the officers prepared out of fear and assembled before the entrenchment. After taking a roll-call of them, the men decided that they would start operations after the arrival of Raja Gulab Singh. They felt very proud of their entrenchment and declared that their defences were ready and the army was well-equipped. They wished the English troops to attack them during day, so that they could make a proper counter-attack.

One day two Englishmen, presumably junior officers, wandered unarmed towards the entrenchment. Outside the entrenchment they met the *Singhs* who rounded up any cattle or camels which happened to be grazing in the open ground between the rival forces. They said that they had lost their way under the influence of wine, and asked that their lives might be spared. They were fortunate, for the *Singhs* declared that they considered it below their dignity to assault unarmed persons and allowed them to return. But others said that Englishmen had been measuring the range of fire. The regular infantry requested the cavalry and the irregular troops to cross the river and lay waste the area commanded by the English. But they asked for guns which were refused to them. On the same day the British posted a detachment of horse, foot and artillery near the crossing at Harike,[1] where the water was shallow. This made the Sikhs very anxious for their safety and they proposed that a section of their irregular cavalry should station itself on the right flank of the entrenchment in the open ground between it and the bank of the river. The rest were posted so as to prevent the British troops from occupying the low ground between the crossing at Ganda Singh-wala[2] and that at Harike. Accordingly the Sikh cavalry under the command of Raja Lal Singh, who was still suffering from his wound, the *Jinsi* battery and Partap Singh's battalion were posted to guard the shallow crossing at Harike which the British were threatening. [*f.* 5*b*] Suddenly one day the news was received that the British had crossed the river at a shallow place below Harike, near Sobranh. A regiment of dragoons of the *Fauj-i-Khas* was immediately sent thither to prevent the British forces from taking them in the rear. They could not understand the English tactics but in the end they carried out their original plan, bringing up one-third or one-fourth of the irregular cavalry into the entrenchment and posting the rest under

1. A ferry on the river Sutlej a little below the junction of Beas and Sutlej ivers.
2. The crossing place on the Sutlej on the way to Ferozepore.

the command of Raja Lal Singh with the *Jinsi* battery and some other battalions to guard the crossings on the Sutlej, particularly at Harike. One day, in the afternoon an Englishman with two *sowars* galloped in front of the entrenchment within rifle-shot and returned after surveying it.

On the morning of the 1st Phagan 1902 B.E. (February 10th, 1846 A.D.) a little before dawn the British fired three rounds on the left of the entrenchment. They at once stood to arms. Later they were again shelled and early in the morning the British forces advanced to attack the Sikh bridge-head. The whole Sikh army was now on the alert. A cannonade was opened from every *morcha* of the entrenchment, to which the British replied. Skirmishers approached, followed by the main British columns, which advanced in perfect formation against the entrenchment. Some regiments of the *Fauj-i-Ain* issued from the right flank of the entrenchment to meet the advancing British columns, which came on steadily till they engaged. The British artillery barrage damped the enthusiasm of the (Sikh) battalions which had come out to counter-attack and after a time they beat a retreat. The battle started at the *morcha* of the *Ghorcharas*. The British guns wrought havoc among the *Ghorcharas* and the infantry, *Sowars*, howitzers and guns which were with the *Ghorcharas* in the *morcha*. It was said that the howitzers fired only one round and then their crews fled, but the *Ghorcharas* stood their ground for some time. Ultimately they too turned and fled from the battlefield, but most of them were killed or wounded. The British troops carried the entrenchment at that place. The fugitives of the *Fauj-i-Ain* and *Gair-Ain* retreated across the ford and fled to *Manjha*, but in that retreat there was little to choose between falling in battle and drowning in the river. In front the river threatened them and from behind they received a shower of balls and bullets.

When the British entered the entrenchment, they divided into two sections. One column advanced towards the trenches held by the *Fauj-i-Khas*. Since the *Fauj-i-Khas* and the brigades of Mehtab Singh and Bahadur Singh had already been chastised at Pheroshahr, they could do little against the attack of the (British) battalions and the mixed barrage of the British artillery. After a brief resistance they fled in disorder towards the bridge over the river. It was said that when the Sikhs saw the British advancing against the right flank

of the entrenchment, firing volleys, they were taken by surprise and fled. The British proceeded to mop up those who remained.

The second British column attacked the Sikh troops who had withdrawn from the right flank of the entrenchment towards the bridge. The sustained firing killed many, while others collapsed in a panic on the battlefield. [*f.* 6*a*]. Wounded or unwounded they fell back towards the river, many towards the bridge, which became crowded with fugitives and gave way. The men guarding it fled before the others. The battle continued for some time in the southern and eastern corners of the entrenchment, until those troops as well, caught between the British musketry fire in the rear and the artillery barrage in front, lost their nerve and fled towards the river. The British troops dealt faithfully with them everywhere, shouting to them "Traitors to the Maharaja of Lahore, faithless creatures, why do you fly"? The Sikh troops under the command of Sardar Sham Singh continued the fight as long as they could, but even they could not withstand the onslaught of the British troops and all suffered defeat. The fugitives who attempted to cross the river by the ford came under the fire of the British batteries. They now had little use for their weapons. Most of them, intent on saving their lives, abandoned their muskets and equipment, and thus lightened swam across the river. But many were drowned and thousands of matchlocks were lost in the stream. Their baggage was abandoned in the entrenchment where the battle had taken place, but a good many retained their muskets. Sardar Tej Singh crossed to the trans-Sutlej side. The *Singhs* warmed themselves and cooked their food with wood from their *toshdans*. Then filling their knapsacks with gram and wheat they sought their homes, though many remained at the camp. The British explored the place of battle, collected the guns attached to every brigade and set fire to the magazines. The brigades which had fled had dragged their guns with them, but were forced to abandon them in the mud and sand, whence the British troops dug them out and carried them away. Then the British army returned to rest in their own camp, leaving some troops to stand guard over the battlefield.

On the following day the exalted Sahibs, leaving some troops near the field, marched to Ferozepore accompanied by the *Nawab* Governor-General Bahadur. Some of the Sikh troops betook themselves to their homes. Others who had retreated to this side of the river opposite Sobranh in their helplessness, staying for a day

and night at the camp, searched for the bodies of their relations and comrades and threw them into the river. After the withdrawal of the troops, some persons deprived of their arms and equipment visited the battlefield singly, by permission of the British guard, and tried to search out the wounded and the dead. Some found their dead, while the others were disappointed. In this interval many matchlocks lost in the river were brought out and collected by the British. Subsequently the reward for recovering a matchlock from the river rose from one rupee to four rupees ; and in this way the zamindars of the villages who had suffered greatly at the hands of the encamped Sikh army, were able to some extent to compensate their loss. All the Sikh cavalry was dispersed from the crossings on the Sutlej and by the orders of Nawab Governor-General Bahadur the British army victoriously crossed by the bridge which had been built near the crossing at Ganda Singhwala and marched into *Manjha*. The defeated Sikh troops retired from Sobranh towards the town of Patti[1] and from there after two marches they reached Jinha (Chhinna), where they encamped all the time, dreading the arrival of the British troops. At Lahore the Rani Sahiba[2] and the courtiers received the news of the crushing retribution for the wicked designs of the Sikhs. They then prudently decided to send the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur[3], accompanied by Raja Gulab Singh Bahadur, Bhai Ram Singh, Diwan Dina Nath, Faqir Sayyad Nur-ud-Din and other notables, to present himself [*f.* 6*b*.] before the Nawab Governor-General Bahadur. Accordingly a meeting was arranged between the Maharaja and the Nawab[4] at Luliani,[5] 18 *kroh* distant from Lahore. After learning the true circumstances of the revolt of the unruly army and their defiance of the orders of their officers and Sardars with regard to the breach of the treaty, in view of the minority of the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, and out of considerations of the imperial dignity and paramountcy of the British Government, and in kindness towards the Maharaja, the Governor-General decided to occupy the territories on the Cis-Sutlej side, the Bist Jullundur Doab, including its mountainous

1. A small town in Lahore District to the south-east of Amritsar.
2. Rani Jind Kaur, mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh.
3. Maharaja Dalip Singh.
4. The Governor-General.
5. A small village about 34 miles from Ferozepore and about midway between that place and Lahore. Here a meeting was arranged between the infant Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Governor-General on February 18th, 1846.

parts, and fixed one crore of rupees as indemnity. The rest of the kingdom of Lahore was left to the Maharaja Sahib. The victorious British army advanced to Lahore[1] in the train of the Nawab Governor-General Bahadur and encamped on the open ground at Mianmir. The Maharaja Sahib entered the city and went into the fort. A new treaty with new terms, as necessitated and sought by the Lahore *Sarkar* pertaining to the transfer of the hilly territories between the rivers Beas and Indus, towards Hazara, including Hazara and the country of Kashmir, in lieu of one crore rupees, was signed on March 9, 1846. The kindness and greatness of the British was proclaimed to the whole world. It was notable that, in spite of the gross breach of treaty by the Sikh nation and the complete victory of the British against the kingdom of Lahore, the said *Sarkar*,[2] out of regard for the memory of the Great Maharaja, preserved the kingdom (of Lahore). The defeated Sikh troops, who were camped at Chhinha, were ordered to Lahore, one brigade at a time. Their pay was distributed ; and those belonging to trans-Beas country were retained in service, while those belonging to the Doaba (Bist Jullundur), the Malwais and the new recruits were dismissed. Those dismissed went to their homes, while those retained in service were sent on duty to the frontiers.

END

Sd. AJUDHIA PRASHAD,

Dated, Poh 22nd, 1906 B. E. (January 4th, 1850)

the account copied from the original.

1. The British army arrived at Lahore and encamped at Mianmir on the 20th February, 1846.
2. The British Government.

(*f. 7a left blank*).

# LIST OF THE *DERAS* OF THE *FAUJ-I-AIN* WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE BATTLE OF SOBRANH.

(*ff.* 7*b* and 8*a*.)

| No. | Name of the Brigade. | Particulars about the deras. Battalions. | Regiments. | Artillery. | Particulars about numbers. No. in a battalion. | No. in a regiment. | No. in a battery. | Total. | Particulars about the batteries. | Comments. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Brigade of Shamsher Singh Sindhanwalia. | 4 deras | 1 dera | 1 dera | | | | | | |
| 2 | Brigade of Rattan Singh Man. | 4 ,, | ... | 2 ,, | | | | | | |
| 3 | Brigade of Kanah Singh Man. | 4 ,, | 1 dera | 2 ,, | | | | | | |
| 4 | Brigade of Mewa Singh Majithia. | 5 ,, | ... | 3 ,, | | | | | | |
| 5 | Remainder of the Brigade of *Fauj-i-Khas*. | 4 ,, | 2 ,, | ... | | | | | | (Defeated at Pheroshahr). |
| 6 | Remainder of the Brigade of Mehtab Singh. | 4 ,, | 1 ,, | ... | | | | | | |
| 7 | Remainder of the Brigade of Bahadur Singh. | 4 ,, | 1 ,, | ... | | | | | | |
| 8 | The territory of Jiwan Singh Toshakhania. | 2 ,, | ... | 2 deras | | | | | | |
| 9 | *Topkhana* of Sultan Mahmood. | ... | ... | 2 ,, | | | | | | |
| 10 | *Topkhana* of Imam Shah | ... | ... | 1 ,, | | | | | | |
| 11 | *Topkhana* of Ishar Singh | .. | ... | 1 ,, | | | | | | |
| 12 | *Ghubar Khana* of Khair Ali Khan. | ... | .. | 1 ,, | | | | | | |
| 13 | Batteries along with General Ilahi Bakhsh. | ... | ... | 1 ,, | | | | | | |
| | Total 13 ... | 31 battalions. | 6 regiments. | 16 *deras*. | | | | | | |

[This form is translated precisely as it is shown in the original Ms.]

## [*ff. 8b and 9a.*] LIST OF THE *DERAS* OF THE *FAUJ-I-GAIR-I-AIN* AT THE BATTLE OF SOBRANH.

| *No.* | *Name of the Dera.* | *No. of men.* | *No. of guns.* | *Comments.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Orderlies. | | | |
| 2 | The special *Dera.* | | | |
| 3. | *Dera* of the Greater Naulakha. | | | |
| 4. | *Dera* of Kanah Singh Khosia. | | | |
| 5. | *Dera* of Pindi. | | | |
| 6. | *Sowars* of Bohkan Khan. | | | |
| 7. | *Sowars* of Ganda Singh. | | | |
| 8. | *Dera* of the *Singhs* of Mandi. | | | |
| 9. | Superintendent of the *Sowars* of Bela Singh. | | | |
| 10. | *Sowars* of Kanah Singh Majithia. | | | |
| 11. | *Sowars* of Sardars Attar Singh and Chattar Singh. | | | |
| 12. | *Sowars* of the *Jagirdar* of Raja Lal Singh. | | | |
| 13. | *Sowars* of Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala. | | | |
| 14. | *Sowars* of Sardar Sardool Singh Man. | | | |
| 15. | *Sowars* of Rattan Singh Ghurjakia. | | | |
| 16. | *Sowars* of Sindhanwalia Sardars. | | | |
| 17. | *Dera* of Sardar Mangal Singh. [*ff. 9b and 10a.*] | | | |
| 18. | *Dera* of Gulab Singh Kanhya *Ghorchara.* | | | |
| 19. | *Sowars* of Shamsher Singh Sindhanwalia. | | | |
| 20. | *Sowars* of Lachhi Ram. | | | |

| *No.* | *Name of the Dera.* | *No. of men.* | *No. of guns.* | *Comments.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | *Sowars* of Partap Singh and Thakar Singh. | | | |
| 22. | *Sowars* of Ganda Singh and Nihal Singh. | | | |
| 23. | *Sowars* of Hukam Singh Malwai | | | |
| 24. | *Dera* of Smaller Naulakha (which had been posted at the crossing at Ganda Singhwala). | | | |
| 25. | *Sowars* of Sardar Tej Bahadur and Sardar Krishan Singh. | | | |
| Total of the *Deras* of the *Sowars* | | 25 | | |
| *Dera* of the howitzers of Jai Singh. | | | | |
| *Dera* of the howitzers of Tara Singh. | | | | |
| *Dera* of the howitzers of Fateh Din Khan. | | | | |
| Total of *Deras* of howitzers. | | 3 | | |

# NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLES OF PHERO-SHAHR AND SOBRANH

## GLOSSARY OF PERSIAN AND VERNACULAR TERMS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Akalis* | ... | A sect of the Sikhs reputed for religious fanaticism and anti-British feelings in the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. |
| *Amin* | ... | An intendant of the finances; collector of revenue. |
| *Bakhshi* | ... | A paymaster. |
| *Daftaris* | ... | Office-attendants. |
| *Dera* | ... | Ordinarily a dwelling or a tent; here it connotes a military camp or cantonment. |
| *Fateh-Wah-Guru* | | Sikh form of salutation also used as a war-cry ("Praise be to the great *Guru*"). |
| *Fauj-i-Ain* | | Regular standing army. |
| *Fauj-i-be-Ain or Fauj-i-Gair Ain* | | Irregular army, or Sikh militia. |
| *Fauj-i-Khas* | ... | Special troops, or Guards. |
| *Granthis* | ... | Chanters of the Granth (The Sikh Holy Book). |
| *Hindustanis* | ... | Those belonging to the interior of the country: Purbeahs. |
| *Jagir* | ... | A fief—land given by government as reward for services. |
| *Jinsi* (*Topkhana*) | | Mixed batteries, comprising those driven by horses and oxen. |
| *Kardar* | ... | One who undertakes state business, an administrator or a revenue official. |
| *Khalsa* | ... | Sikh community. |
| *Khurasani* | ... | A native of Khurasan, a province of Iran. Here it means an Afghan. |
| *Kroh* | ... | A road measure of about two miles. |
| *Malwa* | ... | Territory between the rivers Sutlej and Jumna. |
| *Manjha* | ... | The middle home of the Sikhs, trans-Sutlej territory. |
| *Morcha* | ... | A military outpost. |
| *Munsif* | ... | An arbiter or judge. |
| *Nahangs* | .. | Orthodox type of Sikh soldiers, believed to be true followers of Guru Gobind Singh, hostile towards the British in the days of Sikh rule. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Panches* | ... | They were juries generally of five persons. These committees of deputies, which were of very ancient origin, were maintained in the Sikh army. They formed themselves into regular committees of representatives from every battalion or company, and to them were referred for decision all matters which brought the army into contact with the government. |
| *Risaldar* | ... | A Commander of a troop of horse. |
| *Sarkar* | ... | Supreme authority in the State; generally signified the ruler. |
| *Singhs* | ... | The armed members of the Sikh fraternity. |
| *Samadh* | .. | A memorial building raised over the ashes of the dead. |
| *Sowars* | ... | Troopers. |
| *Tehsildar* | ... | A revenue official. |
| *Topkhana* | ... | Artillery. |
| *Toshdan* | .. | A knapsack. |
| *Wazir* | ... | Chief Minister. |

## تاریخ پنجاب (شیر سنگھ نامہ)

## TARIKH-I-PANJAB (SHER SINGH NAMA).

Panjab University Library, Lahore, ff. 87; 11·8; 9·5″×5·5″, 6·8″×3·1″; beautiful nastaiik; very good state of preservation; within red and black margin; rubrications; certain emendations and corrections between the lines and in the margin.

Beginning:

بر هوشمندان خبیر و آگاه دلان روشن ضمیر ...الخ

Author: Mohammad Naqi of Peshawar, son of Mulla Khwaja Baksh.

*Date of Composition* — The author does not state when he wrote this history, but a study of the text reveals ample evidence of its date. The author tells in the preface how he was eye-witness of the events and was asked to record them by Bakshi Bhagat Ram, an important contemporary state official (*ff.* 6*a*-6*b*). The fact also that he composed a chronogram on the occasion of the accession of Maharaja Sher Singh (1840 A. D.) and submitted it to the Sarkar through Ajudhia Parshad, establishes that he was at Lahore at that time (*ff.* 25*b*-26*a*). Two other chronograms composed by the author on the murders of Maharaja Sher Singh, Prince Partap Singh and Raja Dhian Singh (*ff.* 57*b*-59*b*) at the time of those tragic happenings (1843 A. D.) again show that his evidence is contemporary. The account concludes with the assumption of power as Vizier by Raja Hira Singh in 1843. The author dedicates the work to him and prays for reward (*ff.* 86*b*—87*a*). It may safely be inferred therefore that the history was put into its final form in 1843 A. D. or shortly thereafter.

Mohammad Naqi observed at close quarters the savage drama which was enacted in the Panjab between 1840 and 1843 A. D. He was in close touch with such prominent officers of state as *Bakshi* Bhagat Ram, Ajudhia Parshad and *Dewan* Lachhman Parshad, from whom he could get first-hand information. From his statement (*f.* 58*b*) that from the day of his arrival at Lahore till 1843 A. D. he had regularly received his emoluments from *Dewan* Lachhman Parshad, it may be inferred that he was attached to the service of the Darbar. His record is, therefore, likely to be both authentic and authoritative.

The style of the work is diffuse and stilted, heavily interlarded with verses and Arabic phrases. The name *Sher Singh Nama*,

attributed by Rieu (iii, p. 952*b*), is not found in the text. It was assigned in an English note prefixed to the fly-leaf by the Commissioner and Superintendent, Mr. Raikes, who stated that the Ms. was sent to the Imperial Exhibition at Paris of Works of Art and Industry. (Ethe i, p. 200.)

The select translation which follows will give the reader some idea of the nature and historical value of such compositions, which are primarily literary exercises in quest of patronage and yield little precise and authentic information.

A TRANSLATION OF THE SO-CALLED

# SHER SINGH NAMA (Raikes—Rieu)

or

# TARIKH-I-PANJAB

*(First five lines in praise of God are omitted).*

That sad and unexpected calamity[1], [*ff.1b*, 11.5. *f.*2*a.*] the slaying of the ornament of the throne and dominion of the Panjab and the destruction of his household, was brought about by the fury of the soldiers, who were stirred to revolt by certain malicious and contemptible persons, moved by envy and enmity. Another like event quickly ensued, namely, the slaying of the noble prince[2] and the lionlike minister[3], who was stricken down as it were in the twinkling of an eye, for he was destroyed on the same day during the revolt which was inspired by these treacherous conspirators. [*f.* 2*b*]. The administration of government was utterly confounded by these deeds and even the wisest public men feared for its stability and continuance.

These events, like an earthquake, caused such universal excitement and confusion that the restoration of order seemed impossible. [*f.* 3*a.*] But the all-embracing and unfailing wisdom and justice of God brought forth a masterful man, a bold and daring raider, a wise and cautious general, who could plan victorious battles, whose sword could subdue cities and men. His blood-drinking dagger was for his enemies like the sun for the bats [*f.* 3*b.*], leading them captive and seizing their strongholds, an ocean of kindness to his friends, a destroyer of his enemies. This man was the right hand of government, the strong arm of the great kingdom, the stay of its throne, a resourceful and glorious counsellor and organiser, a minister and a minister's son, well versed in the secrets of State (verses in his praise on *ff.* 3*b*-4*b* are omitted). [*f* 4*b.*] The name of this great warrior and true man was Raja Hira Singh[4]

1. Assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh, at the hands of Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia which took place on the 15th September 1843.

2. Prince Partap Singh, son of Maharaja Sher Singh, who was murdered at the same time by Lehna Singh Sindhanwalia, brother of Ajit Singh.

3. Raja Dhian Singh who was likewise entrapped by the Sindhanwalia brothers and was shot dead while on his way to the fort.

4. He was the son of Raja Dhian Singh. Through lavish rewards and promises he won the soldiers over to support his cause and led them to besiege the fort, which fell on 17th September, 1843, and the surviving leaders of the rival faction were mercilessly put to death.

(may God redouble his glory!) who with His help came to end all turbulence, enmity and error and, according to the saying, "brought back to life a world that had suffered death". This lion among warriors, this tiger of revenge to his enemies sharpened his claws to [*f.* 5*a*.] maintain the honour of his race and to rend the leaders of that brood of foxes, who, having wearied of their own polluted lives, had made bold to shed the blood of the king[1] and his minister[2]. So he gave new life to the kingdom, as it is said, "vengeance is life".

Mohammad Naqi Peshawari, son of the late Mulla Khwaja Bakhsh, the writer of these strange lines, came, according to his lot, [*f.* 5*b*] to the strange city of Lahore, the home of his revered ancestors, to seek his fortune. And here he witnessed the events of this mad confusion, which struck him with wonder and led him to reflect [*f.* 6*a*.] that it would not be out of place to relate them in the best style that he can command—hence this chronicle of slaughter and vengeance, of loyalty, courtesy, friendship and courage, of the qualities of that man, who avenged the murdered prince[3] and by his strong will restored the old order in the State. The author also received a welcome suggestion and peremptory order to write these things from *Bakhshi* Bhagat Ram, most bountiful patron of his time, a very Hatim, the protector of all deserving men of sword or pen. (Verses in his praise on *ff.* 6*b*-7*a* are omitted). [*f.* 7*b*]. He commanded that the strange and wondrous deeds of that brief period should be well and briefly recorded as a memorial of the prince[4] and his reign and as a tribute for all future time to the courage and daring of the Raja[5]. [*f.* 8*a*]. The writer's obedient pen is under the hand of God.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE CHANGE THAT OCCURRED IN THE KINGDOM OF THE PANJAB AFTER THE DEATH OF THE GREAT MAHARAJA. That prince, who was the peer of Kekhusro and sat upon the throne of Jamshed, holding a court of heavenly splendour and the crown and seal of the Panjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, departed to paradise, according as it is written, "He who comes to life must vanish in death, though he live in a strong tower." [*f.* 8*b*.] With hard tempered sword, as fierce as the mighty Oxus,

1. Maharaja Sher Singh.
2. Raja Dhian Singh.
3. Maharaja Sher Singh.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Raja Hira Singh.

he cleansed the dominion of the Panjab of the dust of strangers and the dregs of an oppressive race ; then spread his bounty to the world as much by benevolence and sacrifices as by destroying evil-doers. He maintained his strong empire for forty years[1], proclaiming his glory upon the drum of awful authority, which resounded in the ears of the people of Rum[2], Zung[3], Iran and Frang[4]. [*f.* 9*a.*] Accordingly the strong fort at Multan, the impregnable citadel at Kangra, the vast regions of the Derajat, the mountainous territory of Jammu, the peerless land of Kashmir up to Tibet and the possession of the Barakzai Durani Afghans, now called Peshawar, along with the country in its neighbourhood, were brought within his dominions in Samvat 1896, which is 1255 A. H. (A. D. 1839), when he yielded his body [*f.* 9*b.*], which was used to be clad in silk, to be laid in its bed of ashes. The fires of death consumed the earthly shell of that bountiful spirit and the wind scattered its ashes ; nor could the dominion of the Panjab gainsay it.

Grief welled from the hearts of his people ; the flame of sorrow rose from their minds and their eyes wore a watery garment of mourning tears. The eyes of their leaders were robed in black *kohl* and the anguish of thousands was printed upon their cheek with the indigo of their wet eye-lashes. [*f.* 10*a.*] At last, realising that, even if it be not till a hundred years, every man must in the end depart from his earthly house, they ceased from their vain grief and, after the rites of mourning, that prince whose path was the sky, Maharaja Kharak Singh Bahadur, honoured the throne of his inheritance as by right and fate. [*f.* 10*b*] He renewed the glory of the Panjab by the clear stream of his justice and benevolence, for the land lay in a mirage, bereft at that moment of the true waters of kindness.

During his reign, which was no longer than one year and a few months[5], he gave great care to his kingdom, doing everything for the welfare of his people and the army. Everyone partook of his kindness according to his fortune [*f.* 11*a.*], for he acted as it is written, that all God's people should be treated with grace, and he

1. Though Ranjit Singh assumed the leadership of the Sukerchakia Misl on the death of his father, Maha Singh, in 1792, his reign is reckoned from 1799 when he obtained the investiture of Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, from Shah Zaman and actually established his power at the place.
2. Turkey.
3. The Dark Continent—Africa.
4. France or Europe.
5. Maharaja Kharak Singh occupied the throne from July 1839 till his death in November 1840. He died prematurely at the age of 38.

shed no blood. The lease of life of this elect among princes drew to its appointed end, whatever may have been cause thereof[1]. He placed the burden of his will upon the horse of death, exchanging the fleeting throne of trouble and anxiety for the wooden plank.

[*f.* 11*b*.] Then the prosperous day of the kingdom gave place to a dark night of oppression with the sinking of the star of glory, that bright sun. Authority descended upon that rose-garden and new bud of sovereignty, which was just thrusting forth the branch and leaf and fragrance of youth according to the design of God, [*f.* 12*a*.] whose ways with the world are hidden from us in our ignorance. By his decree, against which no man can complain, fate in a moment made another sign. On the day of his father's death a stone and not a crown descended upon the son's head[2]. In a flash his budding life perished in the tempest of death. In the drooping of an eyelid he vanished like a bubble from the world. So a red tulip burst in that garden of courtiers and the hearts of his followers [*f.* 12*b*.], which had blossomed into a fair garden of carefree joy, were swept by the bitter storm, which withered this royal bud. Glory was gone from the Panjab, no longer did brightness shine in its royal pleasance.

Certain of the courtiers, who were divided, then placed in authority Bibi Chand Kaur, mother of the dead prince, who had retired into modest obscurity, and the conduct of the kingdom [*f.* 13*a*] was entrusted to a Council of her advisers. These men became the ornaments and light-givers of the Darbar, according to the precept, " Consult together upon everything ". But there was no agreement among them and the Council, which had been in existence only for a few days, was dispersed. Chaos ensued and grew, so that the spring of the Panjab passed into autumn. [*f.* 13*b*.] The Council had ended in mischievous confusion and the state fell rapidly into disorder.

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1. The death of Maharaja Kharak Singh was believed to have been hastened by injurious drugs and the galling tutelage of his son, Nau Nihal Singh, who had entrenched himself in power as the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom.

2. The reference is to the mysterious circumstances which brought about the sudden death of Prince Nau Nihal Singh on November 5th, 1840, while returning from his father's obsequies. The occurrence has been graphically described by Sohan Lal Suri (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, IV, i, p. 70).

" When the prince approached the gate, some unknown person caused the whole of its arch and roof to crash like an arrow of destiny upon his head, and that his skull was crushed and his blood and brains gushed forth and his blessed body was hidden under the ruins . . . " This tragedy took place under the gateway of the fort of Lahore facing the Hazuri Bagh and the Badshahi Masjid.

The well-wisher of this noble dominion, its sincere and pure-minded guardian, the wise minister and enlightened counsellor, that brave and virtuous man, the refuge of the weak, that is, the great Raja Dhian Singh Bahadur, knew the truth of the saying that "women are frail in religion and wisdom" and that to accept anything, even a walnut, from a woman means the harbouring of vain desires and ambitions worthless as straw, for the strength and permanence of the state cannot be maintained by such means in a manner worthy of the old tradition. [*f.* 14*a*.] He knew, too, that it was vain to hope that the affairs of the kingdom could be firmly administered by a divided and distracted Council, for the Queen,[1] whose glory reached to the sky, was not a warrior and no confidence, even to the measure of a linseed, could be placed in her wisdom or experience.

The members of the Council[2] were entirely selfish and the healthy body of the kingdom [*f.* 14*b*] was ready to fall to any disease. Dismayed and anxious on account of this confusion, he warned those about the court that these hypocrites would surely rouse from his sleep of disappointment and indifference Prince Sher Singh, who had departed from Lahore in chagrin at his failure to win the throne. That prince had retired to his estates, where he abandoned himself to drunkenness and debauchery to occupy his mind. He had also betaken himself vigorously to hunting and flew about the plains pursuing game with falcon and hawk [*f.* 15*a*.], meanwhile hoping for a fortunate turn of the political wheel.

The more earnest of those (who listened to Raja Dhian Singh) accepted his hint and solemnly agreed among themselves, without arousing opposition in other places, to act upon it. They sent requests to the prince and suggested that a division of the Army should march to strengthen his will.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ADVANCE OF THE REGIMENTS FROM BATALA WITH THE INTENTION OF CAPTURING THE CITY OF LAHORE AND DEPRIVING BIBI CHAND KAUR OF AUTHORITY OVER THE KINGDOM. [*f.* 15*b*.] (WITH THE HELP OF THE TRUE MASTER WHO RULES THE HEAVENS). The prince[3], who was as generous as the ocean and as noble and

1. Chand Kaur, mother of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh.

2. According to this arrangement the Government was to consist of the Queen, as the Sovereign or Regent for the expected offspring of Nau Nihal Singh; Sher Singh as Viceregent, or President of the Council and Raja Dhian Singh as Wazir or Executive Minister.

3. Kanwar Sher Singh,

steadfast as its coasts, was inundated with letters of invitation from officers of the Army, which convinced him of their sincerity. These so rekindled his ambition that with a small band of followers he instantly took to horse (*f.* 16*a*), firmly determined to conquer the kingdom. In one day he covered 20 *farsangs*[1], halting only at Fatehgarh, two *kos*[2] from Lahore, on Thursday, 5th of "Jaddi" (which corresponds to the Zodiacal sign Makra or Poh), Samvat 1897, which is 1256 A. H. (January 15th, 1841). This was the place of residence of the Chevalier General Avitabile,[3] *Sahib Bahadur*, and in earlier times was called the Kiln of Budhu. (*f.* 16*b*.).

Since the auspicious rise of the Prince's[4] star at Batala the most senior officers of the Army resorted to his exalted door to pay him respect and inform him of the arrangements they had made for his support, showing the utmost enthusiasm for his rising cause. Believing that their fortune lay with him, they led their men in haste from the city, giving every outward sign of sincere loyalty (*f.* 17*a*), and gathered like a constellation about this new risen moon. The *Frangi*[5] officers also joined the prince with the artillery and gave him the customary salute of guns and swivels in token of their adherence. The thunder of the guns which greeted the triumphal progress of this ornament of the throne rent the ears of the fish beneath the seas (*f.* 17*b*.) and stupefied his treacherous enemies whose senses forsook them. The fortunate prince showed the greatest favour to the officers and men of the Army, making them the fairest promises and agreeing to all their demands once he had with their help achieved his ambition and destroyed his malignant foes.

At the hour when the sun, sovereign of the east, invaded the dominion of the west and the planets and stars, his thronging warriors of the night, carried the azure citadel, that other triumphant sun (*f.* 18*a*.) entered the city of Lahore with his conquering troops and a following as numerous as ants. With the countless Army which had descended from heaven to his aid the prince besieged the fort, in which the imprudent and luxurious Bibi Chand Kaur had shut herself upon the misguided advice of her relations.

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1. A road measure about a mile and a half in length.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Chevalier (Knight) of the Legion of Honour. The title was conferred upon him by Napoleon. He was at that time the Governor of Peshawar.
4. Kanwar Sher Singh's.
5. European officers in the pay of the Khalsa Darbar.

By chance that wise commander and forefront of the battle, that tempered sword of daring and courage, that being endowed with the bravery (*f.* 18*b*) of Rustum[1], the frame of Tahmten[2], the strength of Isfendyar[3], the cunning of Bizhan[4], the vengefulness of of Bahram[5], the audacity of Jove, namely, Raja Gulab Singh Bahadur, and also that vessel of magnanimity and generosity, that brave leader, true son of a great minister, the strong arm of authority, that is, Raja Hira Singh Bahadur, had that night for a certain occasion taken their abode in the fort and were therefore included among the besieged. So they were trapped by that overwhelming army. The queen[6] entrusted them to defend her (*f.* 19*a*) and, in any case, their honour as soldiers prompted them to protect the weak[7]. They therefore resolutely seized their arms and joined in the defence.

Thereupon the gunners of the besieging army, skilfully commanded by the conquering prince[8], unloosed their thunder against the fort to destroy it, in fulfilment of the saying, " The high shall be brought low, " and the principle of saving by destroying. The guns were laid to breach the foundation and wall of the fort (*f.* 19*b*). But the beleaguered leaders did not flinch from spurring the garrison to the defence and lighted a flame of battle which licked up many a life among those who were tending the fire of conquest.

The siege continued for three days, the destroying flames rising far into the sky above the city. The inhabitants began to cry out against the oppressive violence of the soldiers and their followers, who behaved like devils (*f.* 20*a*). The clerks and bookworms within the city especially went into hiding, like mice from cats, or cats from lions. Those who fell into the hands of the brutal soldiers paid with their lives for their defenceless weakness.

In short the besiegers and besieged fought on resolutely; many were slain on either side, but there appeared no prospect of a decisive result (*f.* 20*b*). Finally, the famous minister, the great

1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Legendary heroes of early Persian history celebrated in the *Shah Nama* of Firdausi.

6. Mai Chand Kaur.

7. Raja Gulab Singh supported the cause of the queen, hoping that under her weak rule advantage would accrue to himself and his family.

8. Kanwar Sher Singh.

Raja Bahadur[1], who had departed to Jammu a few days before this violent rising, upon learning the news returned swiftly with a great host, spreading the wings of a happy phoenix over the country beyond the Ravi and raising the banner of correction. This hopeful and comforting news (*f.* 21*a*) brought joy to the people of Lahore and also to the contending armies in and about the fort. The Prince, whose grandeur was like a sea-cliff, was stirred by a passion of love and rode impetuously towards the river, like an ocean gale or a mountain torrent, in his own glorious person to welcome him. From beyond the river came the fountain of benevolence to meet the well of truth (*f.* 21*b*). So the *Raja*[2] and the *Maharaja*[3] met, two rivers of generosity mingled. After an affectionate greeting they were borne upon one elephant, which carried these two fountains, nay oceans of benevolence, swiftly towards the city, showering wealth as they progressed. These two planets of fortunate aspect, stars more brilliant than sun or moon, alighted at the Shahi Masjid (*f.* 22*a*) which stands within the city wall close by the fort. They continued for some time rejoicing and celebrating the royal New Year. With the conjuncture of these two auspicious stars, the omens of dissension vanished and the sign of felicity appeared.

After these rejoicings the exalted and famous *Raja* opened the door of friendly counsel to his noble brother[5] (*f.* 22*b*) and his glorious son[6]. With weighty words he entreated the two lions, so jealous of their honour and once more covered with valour, to evacuate the fort ; adding every inducement that occurred to his mind. Accordingly the brother, by his advice, and the son, by his order, abandoned the defence on the third night and with high hearts marched out of the fort with a great following and, by the good offices of the *Raja*, paid their respects to the *Maharaja* (*f.* 23*a*) and then proceeded across the river.

1. Raja Dhian Singh. Out of antipathy for the administration of the Queen he had withdrawn from the capital to his estate at Jammu. He had, however, secretly encouraged *Kunwar* Sher Singh to make a bid for power and only awaited favourable opportunity to throw his own weight into the scales in his favour. He arrived at Lahore on the 18th January, 1841.

2. Raja Dhian Singh.

3. Kanwar Sher Singh who had by then been proclaimed Maharaja of the Punjab.

4 Raja Gulab Singh, younger brother of Raja Dhian Singh.

5. Raja Hira Singh son of Raja Dhian Singh.

On the morning of the third day at sunrise, when the garrison had been depleted by this evacuation, the conquering prince entered the Qila Mubarak[1] in all the glory of Jamshed[2] and majesty of Faridun[3], wearing on his brow the crown of victory, thus fulfilling the maxim that woman's place is either the home or the grave. In Samvat 1897 B. E. (1840 A. D.) he seized the kingdom from Bibi Chand Kaur, leaving her desolate (*f.* 23*b*). He brought good fortune and happiness by adorning the throne with his glory amidst a thunder that reached the eighth heaven, like the awful roaring of a lion, which marked his ascent to kingship.

[ff. 23*b*., 24*a-b*, 25*a*, which contain a hyperbolic eulogy of Maharaja Sher Singh in astrological terms, are omitted.]

(*f.* 25*a*) As a result of his fortunate victory the kingdom returned to its normal state. Conspirators were foiled and the face of his enemies was blackened; but those who sought his grace with praise received of his bounty, for by his charities and rewards he wisely fulfilled his promise of liberality (*f.* 25*b*). The writer of this veracious chronicle himself received a reward from that princely fount of benevolence on account of certain verses upon his succession. These were brought to his notice by that noble, generous, prudent and sincere man, that writer with a golden pen, that embodiment of wisdom, Hatim of intellect and minister of generosity, Ajudhia Prasad (May God, whose bounty imposes no obligations, increase his life !). The writer received a grant of land in the district of Peshawar (May the most high God preserve it from all oppression !) (*f.* 26*a*).

[Four lines of verse, containing a chronogram on the accession of Maharaja Sher Singh (سلطان تخت جم شد) which yields 1897 B.E. (or 1840 A. D.) are omitted]. In short, after the conclusion of the celebrations and festivities (connected with the accession to the throne (*f.* 26*b*) imperative orders, bearing the tidings of glory and prosperity and portending the fulfilment of ambitions and establishment of peace, were issued to the officers of the dominion. And none deviated from the course of submission to his power. But some, like the Sindhanwalia Sirdars, who suffered from animosity and were under the influence of their evil nature and excessive jealousy, did not wish him to be successful in the affairs of

1. The Fort at Lahore.
2. } Legendary heroes of early history of Persia,
3. }

the kingdom (*f.* 27*a*). They yearned to break down this firmly established kingdom and the God-granted glory. But against this tall cypress of the garden of valour and truth their efforts came to naught. Helpless, they fled towards Hindustan. An auspicious decree was issued for the destruction of their forts and habitations[1] (*f.* 27*b*). So the destroying troops went up to the great mansions of those evil-doers, who were rent by the might of the guns and became as ripples on water and fled from the earth. And their goods were taken. Sardar Lehna Singh[2] Sindhanwalia, younger brother of Sardar Attar Singh, (*f.*28*a*), had been sent by the late *Maharaja* to Kulu and Mandi. The noble *Sarkar* now ordered the officers who were with him to seize him and to imprison him for life. When this bane of the country was blotted out, the kingdom was well ordered and happy (*f.* 28*b*). The rebels in the hills of Kulu and Mandi were frowned down by the glory, honour and valour of the high king and, staying their hands from evil, they bowed before him. Other mighty men of distant places also grew obedient and under his high authority refrained from their lawlessness. The orders of the *Sarkar* were powerful as death and prevailed everywhere in the land (*f.* 29*a*). His orders were obeyed with reverence by the nobles and the law-abiding subjects. The provincial governors, who were appointed since olden times as Jagirdars in the various parts of the dominion for the collection of revenue and tax, began once more to pay their dues and arrears year by year at the times of harvest[4]. The conduct of the kingdom was ordered. Everything for the welfare of the subjects was entrusted to the *Wazir*[5], who was endowed with virtue (*f* 29*b*). The auspicious ruler then gave himself up to pleasure and luxury day and night. Behind the veil of night Venus-like dancers displayed their art and master musicians showed their skill by day. Every day was like New Year's day. At night he exalted himself with wine (*f.* 30*a*). Sometimes, in keeping with his fame therein, he hunted, never wearying of the chase. He was brave and skilful in hunting deer and very active in the chase. On account of his great love of

1. The headquarters of the Sindhanwalias which were situated at Raja Sansi in Amritsar District.
2. The Sardar had been placed at the head of a division of the army and sent to Kulu and Mandi by Maharaja Kharak Singh.
3. Maharaja Kharak Singh.
4. Revenue was collected every six months at the time of reaping the *Rabi* and *Kharif* crops.
5. Raja Dhian Singh.

the chase, the revered Maulana Zain-ul-Abdin of Peshawar framed the appropriate chronogram on his accession—خسرو شیر شکار the lion-hunting king (which yields 1897 B.E. or 1840 A. D.). Often he rode an Arab horse and roamed the jungle with his hounds and hawks. (*f.* 30*b*). The partridge, quail and woodcock, nay even the small finch could not escape his aim. The *Maharaja* was constantly engaged in hunting and the jungle air was always charged with inexorable death. This yearning for the chase could never be appeased in him (*f.* 31*a*). (Two lines of verse in his praise are omitted.) But despite all his amusements the *Maharaja* made plans for the welfare of his subjects. His generous mind was at all times concerned with their well-being, so that during the days of his rule, which was but brief, the land of the Panjab became the mirror of the highest heaven (*f.* 31*b*). This bride of the ruler of earth redoubled her charm, while he surpassed tenfold the renown of earlier kings. When a bride so lovely was mated with so brave a master imbued with all the wisdom of Solomon, how wondrous their offspring! (*f.* 32*a*). And when in their train followed the brilliant *Wazir*[1] to serve this realm, the bride of paradise, her rapture was enhanced. But according as it is said that "Man proposes and God disposes" when this bride of the kingdom had blossomed to her full beauty and grace, she was smitten by the evil eye. Just when she had entranced all discerning beholders with her glamour, the evil blight fell upon her with its mortal canker. In the midst of a multitude the great calamity befell (*f.* 32*b*). The kindly hand of fortune became the instrument of adversity. The lives of *Maharaja*[2], prince[3] and minister[4] were abruptly destroyed.

CAUSES OF ANARCHY AND CONFUSION IN THE CAPITAL OF LAHORE BY THE WILL OF GOD THE ALMIGHTY: A LESSON FOR THE TRUE OBSERVER. The pen of the Almighty willed to end the sentence of life of that Jamshed, the *Maharaja* of the Panjab (*f.* 33*a*). In the third year of his reign he did things unfitting for the keeping of his kingdom. The troops became oppressive. The rich fled the land. Certain blind and wicked ones defied the law. The unrighteous overcame the worthy; evil-doers took the places of good men. The courtiers began to practise wickedness (*f.* 33*b*) and with

1. Raja Dhian Singh.
2. Sher Singh.
3. Partap Singh.
4. Raja Dhian Singh.

the outward seeming of meekness were given up to private debauchery. The base, servants and slaves, took pride of place for which they were unfit and carried themselves like Plato. Gross fellows, who had the ways of barbers and were mean in mind began to trouble pious folk as of old and all men became fearful. Even the lives of the counsellers of state became intolerable (*f.* 34*a*). Government became as naught. The *Maharaja* began to neglect the care of the land and the walfare of his subjects. (One line of verse omitted). Lehna Singh (Sindhanwalia), who had been imprisoned by order of the *Maharaja*, was set free by him and restored to all his possessions. He received money from the royal treasury and robes of honour were conferred upon him (*f.* 34*b*). His eariler misdeeds were forgiven and he was restored to power. His brothers, too, who had fled like beaten snakes towards Hindustan and had hidden in the jungle, were brought back because they were his brothers, and received with kindness. But it was forgotten that they were as ever like scorpions. They behaved according to the practice that, when other schemes came to naught, they would pretend friendship (*f.* 35*a*) and under its garb would do those deed which no open adversary could encompass. So assured by promises of forgiveness, they returned from Hindustan and raised their foreheads to the sky. They promised repentance for their earlier misdeeds and devotion for the future. Thus with false hearts they deceived that lion-hunter, the *Maharaja*. (*f.* 35*b*). Outwardly they appeared faithful, like the repentant cat, but inwardly they waited to pounce upon their prey. They had no conscience for their promises. The *Maharaja* persisted to his own undoing in friendship with these enemies. But the noble and discerning *Wazir*[1], in his faithful attachment to his master, openly and privately counselled him to beware the traitors.

(*f.* 36*a*) But according to the Quranic precept, "When I would counsel you, my words avail not," the *Maharaja* was not led by the *Wazir's* sincere advice, as fate had ordained. He treated this wise counsel as tinsel and sham, ignoring the *Wazir's* prudent entreaties (*f.* 36*b*) as husks. The *Maharaja* was blind to the past and future, feeling doubly secure ; and he spent ever more time in the company of his mortal enemies. He heedlessly joined their private entertainments and seemed to have given himself up

1. Raja Dhian Singh.

entirely to them. Forgetting their past ill deeds, he raised those evil ones to high office (*f.* 37*a*). All who counselled the *Maharaja* against that course were abused and chastened by him. At last on the 19th of the auspicious Shah'ban, in the beginning of Asuj, 1259, A. H. corresponding to 1900 B.E. (September 14th, 1843) this Sardar Lehna Singh and his nephew, Ajit Singh, left their house early, filled with confidence, having consulted together and made ready for their attempt. Instead of iron gloves they carried (*f.* 37*b*). golden daggers and for helmets they wore jewelled ornaments and went in pride. They hid their sinister designs. Drunk with confidence they went to the *Durbar* accompanied by a retinue secretly bent upon evil, oh, ominous portent! Each follower was filled with the pride of Rustum and felt himself the minister of death. They went to Shah Balawal [1] where the *Sarkar* [2] was watching a wrestling match. (*f.* 38*a*) Following a cunning plan, Lehna Singh hid himself near the garden of the Sword of State and hero of war — General Sardar Tej Singh,— on this side of Shah Balawal. Prince Partap Singh was then lodged in that garden. Ajit Singh (Sindhanwalia), who rejoiced in his valour and was intoxicated with vanity, presented himself before the *Sarkar* with some horse and foot. (*f.* 38*b*). This complete scoundrel, according to the saying, "From a basin will flow whatever it contains", revealed his evil intentions to an official servant in order to study his reactions. His evil cunning prompted him to damnable words. (Verses expressive of boastful pride are omitted). (*f.* 39*a*). But as the saying is, "God alone can divine the inner secret", so nobody guessed the covert design indicated in these verses. They were misled by his phrases. How fortunate if somebody had perceived his wicked purpose, so that that reed might have been mown with the sword in time, his talons cut, his plan nipped in the bud. The flame of evil would not then have swept the land of the Panjab. (*f.* 39*b*) But that which God in his mercy wills must come to pass; none can gainsay Him. And so the noble *Sarkar*[3] in blissful ignorance rejoiced amid his companions. Lehna Singh approached unnoticed. (*f.* 40*a*.) Making obeisance, he guilefully informed the *Sarkar* that the troops of his humble servant and bond-slave

1. A *baradari* (pleasure house) which was situated between the Shalamar Garden and Lahore.
2. Maharaja Sher Singh.
3. Maharaja Sher Singh.

were come and, concealing his fell purpose, begged the *Maharaja* in his benevolence to inspect them. At that moment none of the *mutasaddis* [1] officers, or friends happened to be there, except the *Maharaja's* special favourite, Dewan Dina Nath. (*f.* 40*b*) The *Sarkar* requested the Dewan to prepare the roll of this despicable force. In obedience to the royal command the Dewan rose and went out. The contemptible, black-faced Ajit Singh whose mind was as full of mischief and enmity as the magic box of *Farangis*, [2] produced a case from under his arm. It contained a fire-arm called by Europeans a rifle. With great respect he presented it to the *Maharaja*. (*f.* 41*a*) The *Sarkar*, provoked by curiosity since every novelty attracts attention, asked him to open the box. The cunning enemy had awaited such an opportunity. He made a gesture with his eye-brow and spoke a few words to a soldier who stood in advance with a loaded gun. (*f.* 41*b*) Instantly the soldier fired at the face and breast of the *Sarkar*. In that moment the protector of the world breathed his last. Thus the flame of enmity which smouldered in the heart (of the Sindhanwalia Sardars) burst forth with the bullet from the gun and brought the *Sarkar* to nought. With him, the embodiment of generosity and pillar of liberality, the dynasty came to an end. (*f.* 42*a*). This calamitous fire which had broken out so abruptly, consumed the glory of the state. The Sun of the kingdom, which had hardly reached the meridian, on that day touched the nadir of its decline. The day put on the mourning garment of night : night shed its tears of dew ; the stars were dimmed in grief. The brave eye was eclipsed ; the fountain of manliness became dry ; the star of valour lost its radiance. With the death of this Hatim the source of beneficence was gone. The minds of the people were much perturbed and all hope vanished. For all his bravery, the *Maharaja* could not escape the sad and sudden end devised by these wretches. Because of his heedlessness he died an ignoble death (*f.* 43*a*) and breathed his last in a moment. Thereupon the brutal and murderous *Sardar*, [3] who deserved death, drew his sword and quickly severed from the body of the *Sarkar* [4] the head which had struck terror to the hearts of rebels, the image of virtue, radiant

1. Clerks and secretaries.
2. Pandora's box.
3. Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia.
4. Maharaja Sher Singh was assassinated on September 15, 1843.

with dignity, excelling the stars and the lion's eye in brilliance. He sought to roll it in the dust like a ball. [Four lines of sententious verse omitted, as well as long passage in praise of God and in rhetorical reflection upon this event, (*ff.* 43*b*, 44*a*) and half (*f.* 44*b*), as historically unimportant.] (*f.* 43*b*) In his rage the *Sardar*[1] also struck down *Sardar* Budh Singh, who had been a companion of the *Sarkar* and had become very arrogant. (*f.* 45*a*) Budh Singh's head too was severed from his body. A number of other soldiers also were slain by bullets. Others present at the *Durbar* when the awful event took place fled in panic to their homes.

(*f.* 45*b*.) Ajit Singh, after disposing of the *Sarkar*, rode back to the fort. This mad elephant not content with the murder of the king, sought also the destruction of others. The thick-necked rebel[2], who was also seething with blood madness, (*f.* 46*a*) heard the firing and saw the flower of his hope blossom. He ran with the swiftness of the autumn wind or of a flowing torrent towards the garden[3], with murder in his heart. He entered it showing his heart's desire like a full-blown tulip. The stony-hearted scoundrel, whose heart was harder than granite, ruthlessly plucked the life of that young blossom of state, the upright box-tree of the garden, (*f.* 46*b*) the cherished rose, the lily of the garden of splendour — Prince Partap Singh. The prince knew not of the death of his father. (An astronomical allusion omitted). He fell to the acrid fumes of the gun[4]. In the rose garden of the state another dark flower bloomed. (Folios 47*a*, 47*b*, 48*a* and half of 48*b* are occupied with a florid apostrophe upon these events (*f.* 48*b*.) and are omitted, as historically unimportant) Red-eyed he rushed like a gale or a waterfall to the fort, to spread mischief there. Before the wretch left the garden (*f.* 49*a*) he severed the head of the prince from the body for identification and took it with him attached to the saddle of the horse which he rode. Like a crafty woman, intent on destroying others, he proceeded towards his goal. According to some on the way he met Ajit Singh, who,

1. Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia.
2. Lehna Singh Sindhanwalia.
3. The garden of Sardar Jawala Singh Pandania, where Prince Partap Singh was engaged in giving alms to the Brahmans on Sanskrant, the first day of the month.
4. According to the generally accepted view, as the Prince saw Lehna Singh approaching him with a bare sword he shrieked, "Baba ji, I shall live as your loyal servant." Lehna Singh retorted "Your father is dead", and pierced the prince with his sword.

after having murdered the *Sarkar*, was also going to the fort (*f.* 49*b*). But in fact Ajit Singh arrived at the fort first and Lehna Singh reached there afterwards.

*The murder of the chief minister, the supreme counsellor, the great Raja Sahib Raja Dhian Singh Bahadur at the hands of these cunning men and the punishment of both the miscreants, who were like mad beasts, nay were even worse than animals.* An evil, cunning, cruel hour, which like a magician, produces ever new and wonderful events (*f.* 50*a*) and in its ruthlessness, offers a scorpion for an apple, a snake for a pomegranate, was not content with the first tragedy, nor even with the second dreadful crime. It brought forth a far more terrible catastrophe, which bred confusion in the land. Its malignant bow shot yet a more dreadful bolt, aimed at no common man (*f.* 50*b*). The brave and noble *Wazir* received it in his breast and his spirit fled like a bird from its cage, as his blood patterned the stone, like an inlaid ruby. This is how that woeful death befell.

(*f.* 51*a*). The wise *Wazir*, unaware of what had passed, was on his way to attend upon the *Sarkar*, when he met the miscreants and saw in the eyes of that cur, the Sardar, that mischief was afoot. But, unarmed and outnumbered, he was helpless, (*f.* 51*b*) so prudently accompanied them to the fort. Though frail and old, the Sardar in his thirst for revenge felt himself stronger than Rustum. As they entered the fort he walked arm in arm with the *Wazir* (*f.* 52*a*) as if to consult with him. But he was plotting further bloody mischief. At an opportune moment he made a covert sign to the vain Bhai Gurmukh Singh to wreak his malice, and so instigated, the Bhai fired the shot[1]. The bullet pierced the back of the *Wazir*, who was the bulwark of the people and the soldiers. The shot startled the nine spheres of heaven. That abode of wisdom and cunning could not avert this fatal blow and, like a bubble he broke beneath it. A third time the cry of lamentation arose from every part of the fort and the city (*f.* 53*a*). All people in the land were aghast and wondered at its cause. The nine heavens and the seven worlds heaped ashes of sorrow upon their heads. Time itself was laid low with lamentation and wore the dust of mourning. The state

1. In contradiction of the above version of the murder, Cunningham mentions that it was Ajit Singh who fired a pistol at the Raja and brought about his death. (Cunningham : History of the Sikhs, p. 256. Garrett's edition).
But Sohan Lal does not specify who was responsible for the death of the Rajas. It is no doubt stated that Misar Beli Ram and Bhai Gurmukh Singh were deadly enemies of the Raja and wanted to remove him from their path. (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh.*)

trembled for its future. The rulers were bewildered and distraught. The army arrayed itself in black (*f.* 53*b*). All people, as was fitting. showed their grief. Peace fled amidst the clangour of the weapons of war. [A long florid apostrophe of grief (*ff.* 53*b*-55*a*), followed by funeral verses (*ff.* 55*a*-57*b*), omitted. The final chronogram of this poem yields 1900 B.E. that is, 1843 A.D. Folios 58*a* and *b* are devoted to hyperbolic praise of the victims; seven lines of verse in *ff.* 59*a* and *b* contain a chronogram by Dewan Lachman Parshad, which also yields 1900 B.E. These verses are omitted].

(*f.* 59*b*). Ahmad Khan Gaiba, a trusted servant of the murdered Raja Sahib[1], adroitly cut down one of the conspirators, hurling (*f.* 60*a*) him from his living horse and setting him upon the horse of death. When these noble ones were slain, the Sardars[2] had made a world bereft of honour, which exalted their own vain pride, and they betook themselves to the wine cup. (Two lines of verse omitted) (*f.* 60*b*). Although the *Wazir* had been murdered, the Sindhanwalias proclaimed by beat of drum in the city that Maharaja Dalip Singh had become king of the Panjab and Raja Dhian Singh was his chief minister. The people were ordered to decorate their houses and shops with flowers and leaves and to illuminate the buildings. They were also bidden to go about their usual work. But the crafty words of these miscreants were regarded merely as hunters' cries or soldiers' shouts (*f.* 61*a*). Forthwith that soaring hawk, that sharp-taloned eagle of the sky, the brave Raja Hira Singh Bahadur, son of the slain minister, when he learned of the catastrophe, sought to win over the truculent *Singhs* and the stubborn *Nihangs*, who under General Avitabile lay outside the city (*f.* 61*b*). When falsely reassured by the proclamation, he was at first deceived by those treacherous conspirators, but was preserved by his intelligence and good fortune. In his father's name he bought the soldiers with promises of rewards and enhanced pay (*f.* 62*a*). Having received no word of his father all that day, he concluded that the worst had befallen his father at the hands of those wretches. Towards evening, Ajit Singh, his courage failing, proclaimed himself to all as the new *Wazir*. But he was like an ivory chess piece, not master of his fate. Racking not what would ensue, in his avarice he wandered in quest of plunder and, as it were, greeted the new ruler with this verse: (*f.* 62*b*) " With indifference we affront you."

1. Raja Dhian Singh.
2. Sindhanwalias.

But the stars were moving to the destruction of those wretches. Despite frequent invitations, none but Bhai Gurmukh Singh joined him (Ajit Singh), (*f.* 63*a*). That sun of glory, that star of beneficence and guardian of the kingdom, Raja Hira Singh entered the city with a mighty following four hours after dusk. His vanguard consisted of the regiments commanded by General Avitabile. From the Delhi Gate he surrounded the city wall. Those stony-hearted men of the garrison (*f.* 63*b*) who had rejoiced that the kingdom was in their grasp, came to their senses only when the war drum sounded their doom (*f.* 64*a*). The miscreants now found themselves suddenly on the threshold of death and were bewildered by their own blindness. Pursued and disarmed by their ineluctable fate, they professed to show their indifference to danger by their inaction (*f.* 64*b*) and in this wise they were ensnared. Their heads were impaled and their bodies were maimed when once their necks felt the mastering, relentless thong ; and so they met the reward of their black deeds (*f.* 65*a*) (two verses omitted). A few hours after nightfall those miscreants sheltering within the fort were beset by matchlock men and artillery (*f.* 65*b*). The baleful smoke of battle grew; its fierce flames promised them the pains of hell. As the storm gathered in its anger around them, the beleaguered garrison strove to escape their coming fate (*f.* 66*a*), as drowning men clutch at straws. For a time the veteran European gunners were frustrated and the contest raged throughout the night until the following morning (*f.* 66*b*). Then General Ventura Sahib Bahadur, fired by devotion to the memory of his late benefactor[1], arrived from his lodging at the tomb of Anarkali and appeared before the fort (*f.* 67*a*). There he met the noble leader[2], mourned with him, and threw himself like an angry lion upon the foxes within. He took charge of the siege and directed the fire of the guns (*f.* 67*b*), soon scattering the rascals who had been exulting on the towers (some lines in hyperbolic praise of the great Sardar[3] are omitted) (*f.* 68*a*). In the same way the virtuous Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia, urged by his devotion to the Raja[1], was burning to avenge him. He came, as it were, filled with thunder and lightning and agitated like a stormy sea (*f.* 68*b*) and spurred on the gunners. The veteran surrounded the

1. Raja Dhian Singh.
2. Raja Hira Singh.
3. General Ventura.

fort with batteries, sending his greetings to those evil ones through the guns. Four and a quarter hours after daybreak (*f.* 69*a*) that hero and destroyer of the rebellious, the glorious Kesari Singh also joined in the assault. Raja Sochet Singh[1], too, who had been unwell and confined to his *haveli*[2] (*f.* 69*b*) joined the attack and cleansed the Shahi Masjid of the presence of the false and contemptible rebels. Sardar Lehna Singh Sindhanwalia, who tried to cross the Hazuri Bagh in order to fetch arms and ammunition from the Shahi Masjid, was shot down on the way and so received his reward. How truly hath God said in His Holy Book, "Evil will be rewarded with evil" (*f.* 70*a*) (verse omitted). While he still lived, men in the fort carried him to the building called the sleeping chamber, where he breathed his last on the following day (two lines of verse omitted (*f.* 70*b*). After the evacuation of the Masjid it was decided in council to scale the fort with ladders and put an end to the resistance of the enemy (*f.* 71*a*). When the garrison became aware of this sudden assault, they resisted stubbornly and hurled back the attackers. But they did not maintain their resistance and the besiegers engaged them at close quarters. During this struggle the evil genius, Sardar Ajit Singh (Sindhanwalia), (*f.* 71*b*) ran like a foolish child to the north wall of the fort and flung himself headlong from it (*f.* 72*a*). A soldier from one of the Muslim regiments, who was watching on that side, saw the fugitive and quickly captured him. The Sardar in these straits attempted to bribe his captor, meekly throwing his golden bangle, at the soldier's feet, hoping thus to win him (*f* 72*b*.) But his captor was too shrewd to be so beguiled and showed no pity to him who deserved none, having committed so foul a crime. He treated the Sardar[3] like a wounded beast, beheading him with a single swift blow of his sword, thus forever quenching the spark of mischief (*f.* 73*a*). The soldier then ran with the bleeding head and caste it at the feet of the sword[4] of the state, who heaped rewards on him for his outstanding service in despatching his dearest foe. The death of this foul wretch gave him deep satisfaction and helped to assuage his grief (two lines of verse omitted) (*f.* 73*b*). An order was issued that the corpse

1. Younger brother of Raja Dhian Singh.
2. Mansion.
3. Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia.
4. Raja Hira Singh.

of the Sardar[1] should be dragged by the legs from the place of its beheading and brought to the court to serve as a lesson for others. About the same time the fort was carried by a determined assault and the whole garrison was put to sword. A few, such as Bhai Gurmukh Singh, were arrested (*f.* 74*a*). During this confusion the Sikh soldiers seized the chance to sack the royal household and looted many valuable articles. From the Shahi *Gulab Khana*[2] essences and scents were spilt like water (*f.* 74*b*) and many tonics, rare medicines and precious wines were wasted. The Shahi *Gulab Khana*, which had been stored in the course of many years, was destroyed in a short time ; medicines collected from distant countries were thrown away. In a single night all the bazars and streets of the city were sacked by the licentious soldiery and the people suffered untold miseries. Under the pretext of setting up *morchas*[3] (*f.* 75*a*) the marauders removed all the doors and windows of the houses and took them outside the city and brought a brutal and cruel horde and plunderers into the city, who had anxiously awaited such a moment. The whole place echoed with wails and moaning (two lines of verse omitted) (*f* 75*b*). Even the prostitutes, who earned their money by day, sought to hide their valuables and themselves at night. The fiendish soldiers searched feverishly for those women, but in vain. The few who fell into the clutches of those monsters (*f.* 76*a*) succumbed to their foul treatment. A certain prostitute, who was considered unrivalled in her coquetry and glamour, that night fell into the clutches of a cruel trooper. When he saw her without money or jewellery, he became enraged and cross-examined her about it. The crafty woman made excuses, saying that she had lost all her belongings and paraded her helplessness. But her cunning captor abused her and told her that in earlier days she used to deck herself in splendour at the cost of the Khalsa, arraying herself like a peacock, with golden nose-ring and ear-rings displaying herself at the (*f.* 77*a.*) window to entice men. Now she had been caught and it was the turn of the Khalsa ; she would not escape by lying. He ordered her to cease from idle talk and to produce the goods, if she loved her life and wished again to ply her trade. Otherwise in consequence of her earlier decoration and display a calamity was about to befall her (*f.* 77*b*).

1. Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia.
2. Essence or druggist's shop.
3. Positions for attack.

In other words he would slash off her nose and ears. The charmer perceived that the brute was grimly determined and that no entreaty would touch his stony heart, so, fearing that baulked avarice might impel him to disfigure her in her present helplessness, she prudently produced whatever money or valuables she had with her and thus secured her release (*f.* 78*a*). On that night untold atrocities were perpetrated and irreparable havoc was wrought by the unruly soldiery. The shops, which were full of wares and were humming with business, were completely sacked. The bazars were looted ; the troops gave a free rein to their greed. Doorless shops gaped like the wide eyes of lovers. The people were bereft of all protection (*f.* 78*b*). When they found that the orgy had exceeded all tolerable limits, they collected brickbats to defend themselves and whenever plunderers appeared, they were met with a fusillade of stones. (One line of verse omitted). From roof tops the people caste missiles upon the heads of the marauders and in this way many contrived to save themselves from rapine (*f.* 79*a*). The chiefs and Sardars too lost no chance of plunder, to satiate their greed. But, thank God, by the work of that great and noble hand[1] the enemy was overthrown and the fort was cleared of the evil doers. The insurgents were punished with death and by the grace of God the fire of strife was quenched. When the exalted Raja Sahib[2] learned of the tyrannous excesses of the troops, (*f.* 80*a*) in a statesmanlike determination to restore order and authority he posted strong guards at the city gates and in the bazars and streets. They were ordered to confiscate the booty seized by these disreputable looters from the royal household or the people. (*f.* 80*b*) The property thus recovered was deposited in the treasury, or returned to the real owners. On the following day, when the looters had been brought under control, the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his victorious followers entered the fort in state (*f.* 81*a*). He first presented himself before the glorious and exalted Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur and tendered his allegiance and devotion. This ceremonial exhibition of the Raja's[3] loyalty to the Khalsa kingdom was made in public. Open *Durbar* was afterwards held in the Hazuri Bagh (*f.* 81*b*). Troops were detailed

1. Raja Hira Singh. After a successful siege, the Lahore fort was captured on the 17th September, 1843.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Raja Hira Singh's.

to make a thorough search of every hiding place in the fort for any skulkers still concealed there. Any thus found was to be despatched forthwith and his blood mingled with dust. In obedience to this order every traitor was destroyed when found (*f* 82*a*). In the course of this search they chanced upon Mehar Ghasita, popularly known as Baghban[1], who had hidden himself in the big drain hoping to escape through it. He was the real planter of the tree of enmity and the sower of the seed of division ; it was due to him that this strife was spread throughout the land of the Panjab. He cowered like a contemptible rat, when (*f*. 82*b*) the searcher, like a cat, swiftly pounced upon him and pulled him out by the whiskers and brought him before Raja Hira Singh in the Hazuri Bagh. The strange state in which he was found made him the mock of all present there and a lesson for others. The miscreant received condign punishment for his misdeeds. It was befittingly ordered (*f*. 83*a*) that he should be disembowelled, so that the elements of enmity, ill-will and other venomous humours should be released with his life. (Two lines of verse omitted). And it was ordered that the dead body of the ill-fated wretch Lehna Singh, who had breathed his last in the sleeping chamber (*f*. 83*b*), and those of Ajit Singh and Mehar Ghasita should be dragged through the streets and bazars and hung before the city gates as an example for others. Thus as a punishment for the public disturbance they had created in the Panjab, they were disgraced in public. Meanwhile troops were sent in pursuit of a Attar Singh Sindhanwalia, the elder brother of Lehna Singh, and were ordered to raze their forts and dwellings. Like a roaring sea or flood (*f*. 84*a*) they attacked their fort at Raja Sansi.[2] Before the arrival of the triumphant warriors, Attar Singh, learning of the success of his brother's stroke for power in the Panjab, was encamped at a place about fifteen miles away from Una, his original residence, and was about to go to Lahore. But he learned later that his brother and nephew had (*f*. 84*b*) been duly punished for their evil deeds. That very night he eluded his followers and rode secretly to Ludhiana. The troops who were deputed for the task captured his relations and destroyed their habitations. By the splendid efforts of the

1. Literally, the gardner.
2. The headquarters of the Sindhanwalias in Amritsar District.

Raja Sahib[1] Bahadur the kingdom of the Panjab became purged of all evils and abuses (*f.* 85*a*) and all fear of traitors was removed. The county once more smiled like a rose garden in spring. In the profusion of the flowers of peace and prospsrity and the verdure of justice and comfort the kingdom became as a garden. The people praised his noble efforts and much needed reforms, offering prayers for his long life which gave protection to their lives ; and they slumbered in the cradle of safety (*f.* 85*b*). It was the fortunate destiny of the *Sarkar*[2] that such a resourceful and intelligent *Wazir* was found to serve him and the state and remove the seeds of evil. [*ff.* 86*a* and *b*, which are devoted to formal praise of the *Wazir*, are omitted]. The writer of this tribute to his glory and good fortune hopes not to remain unrewarded by this ocean of liberality (*f.* 87*a*). Hence this account of his brave and splendid deeds has been written for posterity. For this the author expects due return from the *Bakhshi*[3] and prays that his wishes may be fulfilled and that at the end of life he may die in peace.

1. Raja Hira Singh proclaimed Prince Dalip Singh as the Maharaja and appointed himself *Wazir*. (But after fifteen stormy months, he was put to death with his adviser, Pandit Jalla, on the 21st December, 1844 by the uncontrollable and insatiable Khalsa soldiery who had raised him to power.
2. Maharaja Dalip Singh.
3. Paymaster General of the Kingdom.

## SOME KHALSA DARBAR PARWANAS

There are in all 200 documents. They vary in size from a small chit not longer than 6 inches to a maximum of 26 inches. They have an equal breadth of approximately 6 inches. They are written both in elegant *nastalik* and hurried *shikasta.* Some of them are damaged, some in decaying condition and others in good state of preservation. Almost all of them bear small impressions of the office seals which are either in Persian or Gurmukhi or both. In the margin or at the back most of them bear the words "noted or entered in the register" and very often the date is given along with. This seems to have been done by the diarist and shows that the important state documents were recorded in the register before they were issued. Many of them, particularly documents bearing on the years 1904 and 1905 Sambat (1847 and 1848 A. D.) also bear the initials of some responsible British officers associated with the Residency at Lahore, such as, John Inglis, Frederick Currie and John Lawrence.

Practically all the *Parwanas* relate to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. A large number of them are addressed to the Dewan by name. The rest are written to such persons as were called upon to carry out certain duties as desired by the Dewan under Sarkar orders. Since they are to all intents and purposes associated with one notable Durbar official they may be described as *Dewan Ajudhia Parshad Parwanas.*

The interesting collection of the *Maraslas* covers a period of four years —from 1902-1905 Sambat (1845-1848 A. D.) According to the years, eight belong to 1902 Sambat (1845 A. D.) : one hundred and one to 1903 Sambat (1846 A. D.) ; sixty-five to 1904 Sambat (1846 A. D.) and twenty-six to 1905 Sambat (1848 A. D.) In themselves they cover the period of the Residency in the Punjab—after the First Sikh War to just before the Second Sikh War.

These *Parwanas* of considerable historical interest are preserved among the magnificent manuscript collection of Dewan Bahadur Raja Narinder Nath, Lahore.

The *Parwanas* in their general nature were the office memoranda issued from the Durbar. They relate to the duties assigned to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and other state functionaries who were required to carry out his directions or to collaborate with him in the particular tasks. They

are characteristically businesslike documents—specific, direct and to the point. They typically illustrate the day to day administration of the Durbar as it functioned through one outstanding official and his co-workers. Since the documents relate to routine executive matters they only reflect the general policy and the political developments of the day as they were being applied in practice.

The *Parwanas* belonging to Sambat 1902 (1845 A. D.) relate to the demarcation of boundaries which were given effect to after the signing of the treaty on the conclusion of the First Sikh War. Dewan Ajudhia Parshad is directed by the Durbar to collaborate with Captain Abbot Sahib, to procure supplies, etc., for the Sahib and to carry out various administrative duties.

The documents of the year 1903 Sambat (1846 A. D.) particularly deal with the boundaries. Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Bakhshi Gurnarain are appointed by the Durbar to collaborate with Captain Abbot and Lake Sahib. They are instructed from time to time about the practical details of the work and the special points of the work and the matters to be brought to the notice of the representatives of British Government. Through separate *Parwanas* the local officers, *Kardars* and *Ahlkars* are called upon to furnish the delegation with necessary information based on tradition as remembered by the aged persons of the locality. They are also enjoined to arrange for provisions, etc., for the party during its stay at the place. In some cases the Dewan, being on the spot, is called upon to effect settlement of *jagirs*, to realize outstanding revenue dues, to assess the income of certain areas and to execute a variety of other minor administrative orders All along he is being posted with the latest advices from the Durbar through his Vakil, Lala Moti Ram. His sincerity, loyalty and devotion to duty and special capability is constantly praised and he is particularly asked to be always solicitous about British friendship, on whose sense of justice, regard for old relations and spirit of impartial investigation great reliance seemed to be placed.

The *Prawanas* bearing on the Sambat 1904 (1847 A. D.) deal with various executive duties which the Dewan was called upon to perform. He has been asked to establish control and authority of a certain grantee, to submit a detailed report about the revenue proceeds of a particular *ilaqa*, to settle the accounts of the areas newly adjusted as a result of the demarcation of boundaries, to submit papers about *Jamabandi* of certain

places and kindred matters. Parwana No. 50 deals with the procedure to be adopted for the disbanding of 2000 cavalrymen in view of the financial stringency. The same method seemed to have been followed in the case of disbanding of a large number of troops necessitated by a serious reduction in the financial resources of the Durbar.

The documents of the Sambat 1905 (1848 A. D.) generally relate to the payment of the dues to the troops and especially to the building of new "*todas*" (battlements) according to the directions of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad.

The Parwanas are written in conventional style.

The *Parwanas* are indeed rare extant documents of their kind. They illustrate very well the actual administration of the Lahore Durbar during the period between the First and Second Sikh Wars. Though not startling in their contents since they do not deal with matters of fundamental policy or spectacular political developments, they have an importance of their own as original state papers demonstrating the working of the governmental machinery. On occasions they corroborate certain outstanding events, such as the organisation of the Council of Regency and the disbanding of the troops, they also furnish us with details about the same. Thus the collection of the *Parwanas* or *Maraslas* has a peculiar interest for the critical students who would like to be familiar with the actual functioning of the Durbar administration in its closing years.

## SOME KHALSA DURBAR "PARWANAS"

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1st Basakh, Sambat 1902 | "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Mahon Singh. | Intimation to the Sardar about the appointment of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad in the company of Captain Abbot Sahib for the settlement of boundaries and instructions to the Sardar to act according to the orders of the Dewan. |
| 2 | 1st Basakh, Sambat 1902 | Do | Do |
| 3 | 16th Jeth, Sambat 1902 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Intimation about sending of 8 out of 12 elephants requisitioned by Captain Abbot Sahib and |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | instructions to the Diwan to attend on the said Sahib. |
| 4 | 25th Jeth, Sambat 1902 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad | Particulars about the collection of land revenue for Sambat 1902 from the Derajats and Hazara by certain *Kardars* as stated in a letter received from Capt. Abbot Sahib. Instructions to the Dewan to take the armed forces and realize the dues and intimation that Dewan Mul Raj has been instructed to send his Vakil with the statement of accounts about Hazara to join the Dewan. |
| 5 | 4th Bhadon, Sambat 1902 | Misar Megh Raj. | Instructions to the Misar to give Robinson Sahib whatever amount of money he might require, to get the receipt for the same from him and that this would be debited to the state accounts. |
| 6 | 19th Maghar, Sambat 1902 | " Ujjal Didar " Mehar Singh Commandant. | THE TRUE COPY<br>Receipt of a letter pertaining to the separation of his two companies which were with Sardar Lal Singh and Sarda Ram (Singh) Jhalewalia; the same should be included in his platoon. Further instructions to hurriedly proceed towards Bannu and Tak to render service to Edwardes Sahib. |
| 7 | 19th Maghar, Sambat 1902 | Officers of the Company of the platoon of Mehar Singh Commandant detailed with S. Ram Singh Jhalewalia. | THE TRUE COPY<br>Orders to the officers to join Commandant Mehr Singh along with their companies and render service to him. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| 8 | 27th Phagan, Sambat 1902 | Diwan Ajudhia Parshad. | Approbation of the Dewan for having established the *thana* of the Sarkar at the fort of Chowal, etc., further instructions about sending of two pieces of stones with inscriptions to Major Abbot Sahib by means of suitable conveyance. |
| 9 | 11th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Misar Amar Chand | Intimation about the appointment of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Bakhshi Gurnarain on behalf of the Sarkar and Captain Abbot and Lake Sahib on behalf of the British Sarkar for the demarcation of the boundaries. The Misar instructed to procure stores as desired by the Dewan and the same would be debited to the Sarkar. |
| 10 | 11 Chet, Sambat 1903 | The *Kardars* of Talibqur and Kahnawan. | Intimation about the appointment of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Bakhshi Gurnarain on behalf of the Sarkar and Captain Abbot and Lake Sahib on behalf of the British Sarkar for the demarcation of the boundaries. The *Kardars* instructed to procure eatables, etc., according to the written requisition of the Dewan and to make such persons as might be connected with the work of the boundaries to appear before them. |
| 11 | 11th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Kishan Kishore. | Intimation about the appointment of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Bakhshi Gurnarain on behalf of the Sarkar and Captain Abbot Sahib and Lake Sahib on behalf of the British Sarkar for the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | demarcation of the boundaries. He is instructed to procure supplies according to the written requisition of the Dewan. |
| 12 | 11th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Misar Rup Lal. | Intimation about the appointment of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Bakhshi Gurnarain on behalf of the Sarkar and Capt. Abbot and Lake Sahibs on behalf of the British Sarkar for the demarcation of the boundaries. The Misar instructed to procure supplies and other accessories according to the written requisition of the Dewan. |
| 13 | 11th Chet, Sambat 1903 | *Kardars* of Narot, particularly Lala Rangi Mal. | Subject the same as above. The *Kardars* and the Lala instructed to procure supplies and stores according to the written requisition of the Dewan. |
| 14 | 11th Chet, Sambat 1903 | " Ujjal Didar", " Nirmal Budh " exalted Sardar Chattar Singh. | Subject the same as above. The Sardar instructed to procure them supplies and stores and secure the collaboration of the persons acquainted with the work. |
| 15 | Do | Dewan Mul Raj | The subject the same as above. The Dewan instructed to procure the supplies and stores according to the written requisition of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and should also make persons acquainted with the work of the boundaries join them. |
| 16 | Do | Lala Tek Chand. | Subject the same as above. |
| 17 | Do | *Kardars* of Kasowal, etc. | Subjects the same as in the preceding letter. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| 18 | 11th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Bishan Singh. | Subject the same as above. |
| 19 | Do | *Kardars* of Mithankot | Subject the same as above. |
| 20 | Do | *Kardars* of Sujanpura | Subject the same as above. |
| 21 | Do | Lala Sukh Raj | Subject the same as above. |
| 22 | 12th Chet, Sambat 1903 | "Ujjal Didar" "Nirmal Budh", Raja Lal Singh. | Subject the same as above. |
| 23 | 20th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgement of the communication sent from Deriala (?) and assurance that the requisitioned articles as noted below would be sent to him. Directions for carrying on the work of the demarcation of boundaries diligently and reporting in detail the progress of the work. |
| 24 | Do | Do | Intimation about sending of 25 *Sowars* towards the Dewan and instructions about making them render service to the Sarkar and looking after them properly. |
| 25 | 26th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Do | Acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter about the non-arrival of the Sahibs from across the Beas. Reports that it is learnt from Lawrence Sahib that Sahibs are due to arrive from Jullundur and assures that they should be expected to show them proper consideration. |
| 26 | Do | Do | Acknowledgment of his letter. Instructions to him to expedite the demarcation of the boundaries with the collaboration of the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | Sahibs since rainy season was approaching. Issuing of two letters to Captain Abbot Sahib and Lake Sahib. Asked to look after the Sahibs properly and procure them supplies, etc. |
| 27 | 27th Chet, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Received the Dewan's letter sent per Lala Moti Lal. The aid Lala, through necessary instructions to Bhai Amir Bakhsh, allowed to have free access to the Durbar. Accordingly the Dewan's letters would be properly answered. |
| 28 | 8th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Do | Letters from Dewan Dina Nath and Rai Kishan Chand stress the necessity of sending of somebody well-acquainted with the hilly region on the sides of Ravi for explaining matters concerning demarcation of boundaries to the Sahibs. Accordingly orders issued to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad to depute Bakhshi Gurnarain for this task. |
| 29 | 19th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Do | His letter received and contents noted. Re: the affair of Amir Singh Jhango a *jagir* worth Rs. 2000 according to produce from Targarh granted to Jawahar Singh Wadglia. The same should be executed and with the exception of that the whole of the said *Ta'ulqa* should be under the control of Jhango. Jawahar Singh should live at Targarh like other inhabitants. Lala Amolak Ram should remain a Kardar and Chaudhari Sher Singh should be |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | sent to the Darbar. Wherever the Dewan might be he would be posted with the news and he should act in accordance with the same. Wazir Alam Singh has presented himself at the court. His estate should indeed be taken over by the Dewan. He would be kept there suspended and his jagir would not be restored to him with out the Dewan's consent. Grant made for the conveyance of Bakshi Gurnarain. |
| 30 | 20th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | *Kardar* of Mirthal. | Confiscation of the jagir of Wazir Alam Singh and its handing over to him and instructions to establish therein his own control, to hand the revenue over to the Sarkar and to show mercy to his dependents. |
| 31 | 22nd Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Zamindars of the ta'luqas of Pathankot, Sujanpura, Sahura, Dhankal, Mirthal, etc. | Orders to all of them to give in writing to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad the proceeds for four years of their *Ta'luqas* along with the jagirs, charitable endowments, etc. |
| 32 | 22nd Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Orders to the Dewan to ascertain in accordance with the revenue settlement sealed and signed by Capt. Abbot the income of the boundary area. |
| 33 | Do | "Ujjal Didar", "Nirmal Budh" Sardar Ranjor Singh. | Orders to the Sardar to get in writing from his *Kardars* the proceeds for four years from Pathankot, Sujanpura, Shahpur along with the special proceeds of the Sarkar, charitable endowments and send the same to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad so that it might be used by the Sahibs. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| 34 | 25th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and Bakshi Gurnarain. | Receipt of a letter, intimating the going of the Big Sahibs towards Jammu. Accordingly instructions to the addressees to proceed thither and assist the Sahib in connection with the demarcation of the boundaries, etc. and to write to the effect that he had joined the Sahib for the proposed work. |
| 35 | 26th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Approbation of the devotion, intelligence and loyalty of the Dewan on the basis of which he was appointed for the work of demarcation of boundaries between the Sarkar and the British Government. Instructions to him to do the work diligently and also to the satisfaction of the Sahibs. |
| 36 | Do | *Kardars* of the *ta'luqa* of Kharote. | Instructions to the *Kardars* to prepare a statement of the proceeds for four years of the villages and territories of the Sarkar across Chakki Nala and hand the same over to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 37 | Do | L. Tek Chand | Orders to take a piece of gun from Kanh Singh, resident of Mirthal and to deliver the same to the person deputed for the task. The Parwana written during the stay of the Sarkar at Lahore. Five rupees towards subsistence for the persons deputed for the task should be got for them from Kanh Singh. |
| 38 | 30th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Do | Orders to procure supplies etc. for the glorious Sahibs according to the requisition of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and that the same would be paid. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
|---|---|---|---|
| 39 | 30th Jeth, Sambat 1903 | L. Ram Dyal | Orders to procure provisions, etc., for the Sahibs on the requisition of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad on the receipt of the *Parwana* and that the same would be accounted for. |
| 40 | 31st Jeth, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Intimation that Parwanas have been written to the *Kardars* and that he should proceed with the work (of demarcation of boundaries) diligently and intelligently. Wish that the relations between the two governments in accordance with the treaty would remain firmly established. Praise of justice of the British Government and hope of the successful conclusion of the work of the demarcation of boundaries. |
| 41 | 1st Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation about the fact that Major Lawrence is indisposed and that he would go after two or three days. |
| 42 | 3rd Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | L. Ram Dyal, *Kardar* of Narot. | Receipt of his application. Instructions about collection of revenue from the *jagir* of Mian Nihal Singh and adjustment of accounts. |
| 43 | 4th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of his letter in connection with the case of Chehal Singh, Commandant, consideration of the matter and issuing of orders to the *daftries*. |
| 44 | 6th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | do | Orders to relieve the *Thanadar* of the fort at Pathankot of his duties on receipt of the *Parwana*. |
| 45 | 11th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | do | Orders to the effect that the *Jagir* of "Nirmal Budh", "Ujjal Didar" Gulab Singh Bhagowalia in the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | territory of Pathankot should be properly looked after and no discomfort or trouble should be allowed to occur there. |
| 46 | 11th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of a report from Amir Singh Jhango to the effect that men of General Harsukh Rai have oppressed the *daroga* and the *Wanglias* (?) and laid the country waste. Instructions that they should not be allowed to meddle with the *daroga* and wanglias, the country should be re-populated and authority of Amir Singh Jhango should be re-established at Targarh. |
| 47 | 14th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Bishan Singh. | Reference that earlier in the month of Sawan his Vakil, who was present at the court, had been intimated and Parwanas were also being written that the *dera* of Captain Abbot Sahib, Commissioner for the demarcation of the boundaries of the Punjab, would shortly come to his territory. On behalf of the Darbar Dewan Ajudhia Parshad would accompany him. On his arrival there he should bring to him persons who knew about the history of the *ta'luqa* of Sochetgarh from the earliest times (*i.e.*, the days of the Moghal Kings that is ; the rule of Nawab Khan Bahadur till the present day). He should be bold and truly state the facts according to his best knowledge and belief so that he should be able to prove his statement against the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | versions of others. He should go to the place of demarcation. |
| 48 | 16th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | His letter received through Lala Moti Ram. In response to his requisition for the *sanads* all that could be had from the office have been sent to him. As regards his non-receipt of a reply from the Sarkar all the letters which are perused are replied to. Re: the erection of the four-point boundary, post Bakshi Gurnarain had been deputed for writing down particulars about the boundary post. The said papers would be sent to him per the said Bakshi. He should feel satisfied on that score. Whatever he had submitted in the interest of the Sarkar had been listened to by the Sarkar word by word. Praise be to him. The copy of the letter of Captain Sahib to Raja Gulab Singh which had been sent to the Sarkar was also listened to. The copy of the statement, which he had made to the Sahib with regard to the conquest of Ladakh and had been sent to the Sarkar, was also read out to the Sarkar. All those papers after being heard by the Sarkar were handed over to Lala Moti Ram, his confidential agent. The devoted one (the Dewan) was made to understand many matters at the time of his departure. He was a sincere well-wisher of the Sarkar. As a result of his stay at places where boundaries were to be |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | demarcated he would have become well-acquainted with facts. Again about *ta'luqas* situated at a distance, too, he would have heard things. From the Sarkar whatever *Parwanas* and *Sanads* could be procured had been sent. He should engage himself in rendering good services out of his innate desire to do good to the Sarkar. All points at issue were to be decided according to proposal of the Sahib who was good-natured, just and judicious. The Sarkar fully trusted that all matters would be amicably adjusted. A *Parwana* to "Ujjal Didar" Wazir Zalam Singh about his presence at the court had been issued and was being sent to him. Expect the favours from the Sarkar to be bestowed on you. These lines were written on the 16th Bhadon, Sambat 1903. The *Parwana* was written at the court dera Lahore. From Faqir Nur-ud-Din Ansari. |
| 49 | 17th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of the Dewan's communications about the disputed *ta'luqas*. Instructions issued to everyone of the *Kardars* of the *Parganas* of the neighbourhood that on the arrival there of Capt. Abbot Sahib, Commissioner for Demarcation of boundaries of the Punjab, to present the old men to report all they knew about the areas. Expression of hope and trust that Captain Sahib would |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | decide all matters juridically. Reiteration of the resolve of the Sarkar to observe the friendship established between the two governments under all circumstances and to accept their just decisions. Suggestion to proceed with the demarcation of boundaries since rainy season was drawing to a close. Issuing of *Parwanas* again to the Amils of the *Parganas* in the neighbourhood of the disputed *ta'luqas* as also to the *vakils* and *Ahlkars*. Issuing of *parwanas* for the provision of supplies, etc., sending of *sanads* found so far and assurance to send more when found. |
| 50 | 21st Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | L. Ram Dyal | Instructions with regard to the realization of revenue and adjustment of accounts of the jagir of Mian Nihal Singh. Instruction with regard to grain of Sarmukh Singh Sindhanwalia. Orders for the acceptance of security of Laiq Chand for realization of some money. Instructions about the jagir of Attar Singh. |
| 51 | 24th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | L. Tek Chand | Instructions to the effect that on the arrival of the *dera* of Captain Abbot Sahib, Commissoner for the demarcation of boundaries of the territories of the (British) Sarkar near his *ilaqa* he should bring the elders of Sochetgarh, etc., before him. Such persons should be selected as should know about the country |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed | Abstract |
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| | | | since the dissolution of the Moghal empire and the reign of Nawab Khan. They should be prepared to speak the truth and should be able to prove their statements against the versions of others. Since the work of demarcation of boundaries was about to be taken in hand he should act upon earlier and recent instructions. |
| 52 | 24th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | L. Sukh Raj. | In continuation of instructions issued through his *Vakil* in the month of Sawan he was called upon to collaborate with Captain Abbot Sahib in the demarcation of boundaries (the nature of the instructions the same as in the preceding *Parwana*). |
| 53 | 24th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | *Kardars* of the ta'luqa of Chhaja. | General instructions with regard to collaboration with the work of demarcation of boundaries. The same as in the last *parwana.* |
| 54 | Do | *Ahlkars* of D. Kishan Kishore | The same general instructions as in the preceding *Parwana.* |
| 55 | Do | L. Gulab Rai, *Kardar* of Ghamarola. | Subject the same as above. |
| 56 | Do | L. Ram Dyal, *Kardar* of the ta'luqa of Nirot. | Subject the same as above. |
| 57 | Do | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | His letters about the disputed *Ta'luqas* were being regularly received. Before this in the month of Sawan, 1903 Sambat, to every one of the *Kardars* of the neighbouring *ta'luqas parwanas* were |

| ɔ. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | issued. They were enjoined to bring the elders of the *ilaqa* before Captain Abbot Sahib, Commissioner for the demarcation of the boundaries of the Punjab, when his *dera* would arrive there. They should be required to relate to the Sahib whatever they would have known about the *ta'luqas* to be demarcated. Whatever Lala Ram Dyal might do in pursuance of instructions should be reported. Similarly other *Amils* of the country adjacent to Sochetgarh, Manawar, etc. and the villages connected with Rawalpindi would produce before you their elders and relate facts about the locality. The resourcefulness of the Captain Sahib might be able to corroborate the statements of the elders with those of the inhabitants of the *ta'luqas* to be demarcated since it was necessary for them not to be awed by the ruler of the day. It was expected that the Captain who had been appointed to the task on behalf of the Company, would proceed with the work according to the results of proper investigation and the cannons of justice. He would perform the task so well as to become a memorial. According to the mutually accepted rules the exalted (British) Sarkar, in recognition of the prolonged friendship of the deceased Big Maharaja, had left the hills and |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | plains associated with the *ta'luqa* of Lahore as a remnant of the Kingdom. Good relations between the two governments were well-established. Under all circumstances they would strive for the good-will of the Sahibs. At that time the rainy season was drawing to a close and the season was favourable for the work of demarcation of boundaries. Once again *Parwanas* were issued to the *Amils* of the neighbouring *Parganas*. They were required to strictly observe the instructions written on the 24th Bhadon, 1903 Sambat. |
| | | | The *Parwana* written at the court during the stay of the Sarkar at Lahore. |
| 58 | 24th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Assurance that his letters were received and were being properly replied to through the assistance of General Ram Singh and Lala Moti Ram. |
| 59 | 26th Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | Do | Orders to him to get the control of Amar Singh Jhango established at Rajgarh and Dhatura since the same were leased to him ; and to look after the said Amar Singh. |
| 60 | Do | Do | Report through Lala Moti Ram about the indisposition of the Dewan, instruction to him to write in detail about his health. Also orders to procure mortar, etc., for the construction of boundary post as desired by the Sahib. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 61 | 31st Bhadon, Sambat 1903 | L. Ram Dyal. | Intimation to him that since D. Ajudhia Parshad had been appointed for the demarcation of boundaries the *kardars* of the *ilaqa* should be instructed to render the Dewan necessary services and anybody not obeying him would be dismissed. |
| 62 | Do | D. Bishan Singh. | Subject the same as above. |
| 63 | Do | D. Tek Chand. | Subject the same as above. |
| 64 | Do | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Report about disloyalty and revolt of Sheikh Inam-ud-Din, *i.e.*, his not handing over of the forts of Kashmir, about which repeated orders had been issued to him, to the *Ahlkars* of Raja Gulab Singh and occurrence of clash with his men. Sending of Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala and his troops to Kashmir as desired by the said Raja. Directions to acquaint the Sahib Bahadur with these happenings. |
| 65 | Do | Do | Receipt of his letter. Directions to do things according to discretion since he had been appointed to the task in consideration of sincerity and trustworthiness. To report about *kardars* not carrying out his orders, to appoint a person for the work of the boundary post and his emoluments would be paid by the Sarkar. |
| 66 | Do | Misar Amir Chand and *Kardars* of the | Intimation that a reliable agent had along with Dewan Ajudhia Parshad been appointed to |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | border lands from River Attock to the back of the hills. | investigate about the history of the locality from the dissolution of the Mughal Empire till the present day. Instruction for their collaboration with him in this respect. |
| 67 | 2nd Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of his communication, requesting the issuing of *parwanas* in the name of *ahlkars* and *kardars* of Pathankot, Sujanpur, etc., through Sardar Ram Singh Jhallawala and Lala Moti Ram. Intimation about the issuing of the desired *parwanas* as also about sending a *parwana* to Ajit Singh, regarding lodging at Adinanagar. |
| 68 | 8th Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation about sending of "Ujjal Didar" Partap Singh, Commandant, along with his orderlies towards the Dewan and instructions that on the arrival of the Big Sarkar (British Officer ?) he should be made to render him useful services. |
| 69 | 11th Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Do | Petition of Kanha and Sobha with regard to disavowal of their rights of inheritance and cultivation of land connected with the village Lari which was Jagir of Bawa Nanak Chand and Mehtab Singh of Dera Sahib. Their prayer to be restored in their right on acceptance of revenue. Instructions to do the needful in the case. |
| 70 | Do | Do | Intimation about the marching of the British Army to relieve Raja |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | Gulab Singh via Jammu. Instructions to Lala Gulab Rai and Lala Tek Chand for procuring them necessary supplies. The Dewan enjoined to depute special men to ask the *kardars* do the needful. |
| 71 | 20th Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of his communication. Granting of his wish to allow Lala Ram Dyal, *kardar* of Narot, to stay with him along with another clerk. Instructions to engage the Lala in the work of the demarcation of boundaries and despatch the assistant with cash and accounts to the durbar. |
| 72 | 23rd Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation about issuing of *parwana*, in accordance with his wish, to *kardars* of Narot, Lala Ram Dyal, along with Bhaya Hari Singh and Bhola Singh. Instruction to the Dewan to likewise make the *kardar* read the *parwana* and wholeheartedly engage himself in rendering services to the Sarkar. |
| 73 | 30th Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation about the proposed visit of Col. Lawrence, Agent to the Governor-General, to the Punjab for the demarcation of boundaries, etc. Instructions to the Dewan to attend on the Sahib, to ask the *kardars* of *ilaqa* visited by him to appear before the Sahib and state facts about boundaries, etc., to provide for his entertainment, etc. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 74 | 30th Asuj, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of his communication and the contents about the arrival of Capt. Abbot Sahib at Pathankot, sending for the well-informed Zamindar and starting of the work of the demarcation of boundaries. Instructions to the Dewan to perform his duties in connection with the exchange of villages with the British Company with the greatest devotion and sincerity. Regarding the issuing of *parwanas* to the *jagirdars* on the border asked to submit a detailed list of localities and their revenue. Intimation that till then Sangat Singh Harni, brother of Wazir Alam Singh, had not arrived at the court. |
| 75 | 2nd Katik, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation about the appointment of Dewan Bishan Singh and Bakshi Amrit Rai as desired by Col. Lawrence, for collaboration in the work of the demarcation of the boundary. Accordingly instructions to the Dewan to make them tell the Colonel all they might know about the boundary affair. |
| 76 | 6th Katik, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation that Jamadar Sarb Dial, who had lately come to Lahore on leave, was again proceeding to Pathankot to resume duties as *thanedar* of the post. Instructions that he should be attended to. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 77 | 13th Katik, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of the communications from the Dewan through Lala Moti Ram. Emphatic instructions to conduct the work of the demarcation of the boundaries in collaboration with Captain Abbot in the most devoted manner as a loyal employee of the Durbar. Intimation that *parwanas* had been issued to *jagirdars* to the effect to produce papers according to the records prepared by Dewan Dina Nath and that "Nirmal Budh" "Ujjal Didar" Sardar Nihal Singh was sent to Mr. J. Lawrence. |
| 78 | 18th Katik, Sambat 1903 | Do | Intimation that the persons whose pay had been sent to him have presented themselves at the Darbar and accordingly would receive it there. |
| 79 | 22nd Katik, Sambat 1903 | Do | Reference to a letter received from the Big Sahib by Dewan Dina Nath to the effect that detailed information about the undernoted villages, *i.e.*, produce, etc., from Sambat 1898 to 1902 should be supplied. Accordingly instructions to the Dewan to do the needful in the desired manner. |
| 80 | 23rd Katik, Sambat 1903 | Do | Acknowledgment of his communications. Expectation that with the collaboration of Captain Abbot and himself the work of the demarcation of boundaries would be satisfactorily conducted. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 81 | 24th Katik, Sambat 1903 | *Kardars* of Daultanagar. | Instructions to the effect that on the arrival of Captain Abbot and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad for the work of the demarcation of the boundaries they should be present there along with the zamindars and elders of the place and carry out their orders. |
| 82 | Do | *Kardars* of Bhimbar. | Intimation that Captain Abbot and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad would visit the locality for the demarcation of boundaries. Instructions to them to be present there along with the elders and zamindars of the place and to carry out the orders of the Dewan. |
| 83 | Do | Saiyyad Mir Shah | Subject the same as above. |
| 84 | Do | *Kardars* of Gujrat. | Subject the same as above. |
| 85 | 21st Katik, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Intimation that son of Ilahi Bakhsh was indisposed and accordingly instructions to the Dewan to send Ilahi Bakhsh to the Durbar. |
| 86 | 2nd Maghar, Sambat 1903 | Do | Reference to the fact that Dewan Bishen Singh had been deputed to remain with them in connection with the demarcation of the boundaries and since they had gone to Bhimber, with which he was not much acquainted, he should, if deemed proper, be sent to his own *ilaqa* to engage himself in its administration. |
| 87 | 5th Maghar, Sambat 1903 | Do | Drawing of the attention of the Dewan to the fact that the *ilaqa* of Garhi Garmale and |

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| | | | the whole plain was separated from the mountainous regions and that it should be brought to the notice of Captain Abbot. Also to refer to him that Garhi and Sultanpur were since long included in Rotas. |
| 88 | 11th Maghar, Sambat 1902 | Dewan. Ajudhia Parshad | Sending of a writing from Raja Gulab Singh to the Dewan per "Ujjal Didar" Panjab Singh to be carefully kept with him and if necessary to show the same to the exalted Sahib; to return it when back at the Durbar. Issuing of a *Parwana* to Lala Ram Chand with regard to the restoration of estate and repopulating it. |
| 89 | 21st Maghar, Sambat 1903 | Do | During these days it has been so decided in the presence of the exalted Currie Sahib, the Big Sahib, agent to the Governor-General, Colonel Lawrence Sahib and other glorious Sahibs that the administration of the kingdom and the management of the country would be done under the special seal and signature of "Nirmal Budh," "Ujjal Didar" exalted Sardar, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial troops, the Sword of the Kingdom, Sardar Tej Singh, the exalted Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala, the well-wisher of the high state, the Naib of the Kingdom, Special Counsellor, Dewan Dina Nath and the good natured and true well-wisher, Khalifa Nur-ud-din. |

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| | | | Accordingly it was imperative for the Dewan that whatever orders or *Parwana* should be issued under the special seal of the Sarkar and the signatures of all the four Nazims should be obeyed. All work should be carried in with complete satisfaction. In that respect special emphasis was laid. Favours and kindness of the Sarkars may be expected to be bestowed on him. |
| 90 | 14th Poh, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad | Acknowledgment of communication and expression of hope that he would arrive at the Durbar in the near after having satisfactorily concluded the work of the demarcation of boundaries. |
| 91 | 23rd Poh, Sambat 1903 | Daroga. | Order to give four horses for purposes of riding and dak to Captain Abbot, Commissioner boundary demarcation. |
| 92 | Do | Shahid Daroga | Orders for sending some horses through Gale Daroga for Captain Abbot. |
| 93 | Do | L. Gulab Rai, *Kardar*. | Intimation about the expected arrival of Captain Abbot and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad for the demarcation of the mountainous regions, the territories of the Sarkar, Instructions to remain with the Dewan and procure supplies and debit the same to the Sarkar. |
| 94 | 23rd Poh, Sambat 1903 | L. Tek Chand. | Subject the same as above. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 95 | Do | *Kardars* of the villages of Mirthal, Dhaunkal, etc. | Subject the same as above. |
| 96 | Do | L. Amolak Ram | Do |
| 97 | Do | L. Gobind Sahai, *Kardar* of Gujrat. | Do |
| 98 | Do | D. Bishan Singh | Do |
| 99 | Do | Dewan Kishan Kishore. | Do |
| 100 | Do | "Nirmal Budh," "Ujjal Didar" Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala. | Do |
| 101 | 24th Poh, Sambat 1903 | Misar Rup Lal. | Do |
| 102 | 23rd Poh, Sambat 1903 | Bhai Amir Bakhsh. | Orders to send ten orderlies with Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 103 | 5th Magh, Sambat 1903 | *Kardars* of the *ta'luqa* of Chaja | Orders to attend on Dewan Ajudhia Parshad on his visit to the locality for the demarcation of boundaries and to supply whatever might be needed by him. |
| 104 | Do | *Kardars* of the *ta'luqa* of Khatar. | Do |
| 105 | Do | *Kardars* of the *ta'luqa* of Gulnarali (?) | Do |
| 106 | Do | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Intimation about sending him a pony. |
| 107 | 11th Magh, Sambat 1903 | Do | Acknowledgment of his communication and the application of Lala Shadi Lal, news writer, |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | through Dewan Dina Nath. Observation on the proposed annexation of the *ta'luqa* of Khatota with the Lahore territories and the intention of Raja Gulab Singh to exchange it with some territory of his own. (The *Parwana* partially damaged and worn out cannot be clearly read). |
| 108 | 24th Magh, Sambat 1903 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of his communication and accordingly despatch of camels for transport for Captain Abbot and directions about payment of hiring charges, etc. |
| 109 | 27th Magh, Sambat 1903 | Do | Do |
| 110 | 4th Chet, Sambat 1904 | Do | Instructions to establish control and possession of Lala Kanhya Lal resident of Watala, over the village of Manawar which had been transferred to him since *Rabih* crop of 1904 Sambat. |
| 111 | 23rd Chet, Sambat 1904 | Do | Reference petition of Lala Ratan Chand Dahriwala to the administrator of Nurpur for the presentation of the zamindars of the *ta'luqa* of Nangalbhur. Orders to the Dewan to attend to the case for necessary instructions to the *Ahlkars*. |
| 112 | 1st Besakh, Sambat 1904 | " Ujjal Didar " " Nirmal Budh Bhai Dal Singh | Orders to the effect that he should do according to the bidding of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad when he, along with Captain Abbot, would visit the locality for the demarcation of the boundaries. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 113 | 2nd Besakh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Orders to establish the control and authority of Lala Devi Sahai over the *ta'luqa* of Ghari Gharival where the said Lala had been appointed a *Kardar.* |
| 114 | 4th Besakh, Sambat 1904 | Do | Instructions to hand over 60 villages, which according to the demarcation of boundaries had been included in the *ilaqa* of Jasrota, to Lala Tek Chand. |
| 115 | 9th Besakh, Sambat 1904 | *Jagirdars*, *Kardars* and zamindars of Lahore. | Instructions to look after the luggage of Smith Sahib who was proceeding thither. |
| 116 | 24th Besakh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Instructions to submit a detailed report about the revenue proceeds of the territories on the other side of Jhelum which, according to the demarcation of boundaries, had been included in the territories of Raja Gulab Singh : and also to submit a statement of the expenses on the *Thanas*, forts, troops, jagirs and *Dharam Arth.* |
| 117 | 25th Besakh, Sambat 1904 | Do | Intimation of the appointment of " Ujjal Didar", " Nirmal Budh " Bhai Dal Singh as *Kardar* of the *ilaqa* of Rawalpindi. Instructions to the Dewan to establish his authority and control over the *ilaqa* and furnish him with other available information about boundaries, etc. |
| 118 | 10th Jeth, Sambat 1904 | Do | Instructions to settle the accounts about the revenue proceeds of the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | villages across Chakki stream, which, according to the demarcation of the boundaries, had been transferred to the British. Intimation of the forthcoming visit of Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia for the re-adjustment of the boundaries of the localities to the east of Shah Nehr in view of the complaint of the residents. |
| 119 | 11th Jeth, Sambat 1904 | "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Mahan Singh. | Instructions to restore *jagir* and *inaam* to Sharif Khan as of old and to charge from him the revenue for the village given to him on lease. |
| 120 | Do | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of the letter, requesting for the sending of 12 elephants for carrying load of Captain Abbot and intimating the intention of the Sahib to go to Kashmir; sending of Thakar Singh Jamadar along with the said Sahib and the proposal to ask the bankers of Kashmir to pay money to the Sahib as desired by him. Categorical answers to the above points. |
| 121 | 19th Jeth, Sambat 1904 | "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Dal Singh. | TRUE COPY. Reprimanding him for having not carried out the orders of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and emphatic instructions to obey the Dewan and send a letter of satisfaction from the Captain and the Dewan. |
| 122 | 25th Jeth, Sambat 1904 | D. Mool Raj. | Instructions to send per his Munshi the papers bearing on the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | *jamadari* of Hazara village by village to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 123 | 31st Jeth, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Instructions to inspect the horsemen with him in the presence of Captain Abbot, to dismiss the disabled and feeble ones and submit a detailed report to that effect. |
| 124 | 9th Har, Sambat 1904 | Do | Sending of Ghulam Ali, Chaudhari of Ghari Ghariali to the Dewan for sending a report about the revenue proceeds of the Ghari as gathered from him. |
| 125 | 13th Har, Sambat 1904 | Do | Proposal to send mangoes for the Captain and the Dewan. Accordingly instructions to the jamadar to send the specified number from Sialkot. |
| 126 | Do | *Misaldars* of the Dera of *Sowars*, and other *Sowars*. | Intimation of their appointment for the administration of the country of Hazara and orders to obey the Captain and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 127 | 23rd Har, Sambat 1904 | " Ujjal Didar," " Nirmal Budd," Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala. | Orders intimating that he had been appointed towards Hazara and emphatic instructions that he should obey the orders of Captain Abbot Sahib and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 128 | Do | Sultan Mahmood Khan. | Subject the same as in the preceding letter. |
| 129 | Do | " Ujjal Didar " Tara Singh, Commandant. | Subject the same as in the preceding *Maraslas*. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 130 | 23rd Har, Sambat 1904 | " Ujjal Didar " Jodh Singh Commandant. | Subject the same as in the preceding *Maraslas.* |
| 131 | Do | Rachhpal Singh, Commandant. | Do |
| 132 | Do | Dhera Singh, Commandant. | Do |
| 133 | Do | Amir Chand, Colonel. | Do |
| 134 | Do | " Ujjal Didar," Bahadur Singh. | Do |
| 135 | 7th Sawan, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of his communication about the repairs of the *top-khana* and the Magazine. Instructions to get the same repaired by the *Kardars* and the amount incurred would be paid to him. Intimation of the sending of the salaries through Lala Rattan Chand. Emphatic orders to Lala Ganpat Rai for reaching the magazine expeditiously. |
| 136 | 9th Sawan, Sambat 1904 | Do | Reference to the notification of Captain Abbot Sahib for the collection of octroi duties on grain for two months from the *ilaqa* of Rawalpindi, Panja Sahib, Chhacha, etc. Accordingly orders to the *Kardars* of the *ilaqa* not to obstruct the collection of the said duties. |
| 137 | 17th Sawan, Sambat 1904 | Do | Information from Lala Tek Chand about the undue interference by the *muharars* of Maharaja Gulab Singh in the village of Tarloh, which had |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | been since long attached with the *ilaqa* of Dodianwala. Instructions to the Dewan to refer the matter to Captain Abbot Sahib and stop interference. |
| 138 | 2 nd Sawan, Sambat 1904 | General Comillon (?) | Intimation that the son of Khan Zaman Khan of Kundgarh would come to him with two hundred soldiers and letters from Captain Abbot Sahib and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. Instructions to keep them with him in Bannu for rendering service to the Sarkar and to pay them dues. |
| 139 | 24th Sawan, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Acknowledgment of his communication. Commendation of the remittance of the octroi duties by Capt. Abbot Sahib, sending away of Khan Zaman Khan with *khilat*; keeping of his son with himself sending of the *topchi* to Dera Ismail Khan. Instructions to General Comillon (?) that the aforementioned son would be sent to him at Bannu; about the company of the platoon of Rachhpal Singh, the same had been sent with the magazine; assurance about the grant of *Bhatta* to the troops and directions not to listen to a similar request from the *Sowars*; approval of the suggestion to send the troops to Rawalpindi under Captain Nicholson. |
| 140 | Do Sambat 1904 | Do | Receipt of a letter from "Ujjal Didar" Dharam Singh, *Kardar*. Intimation that the said person would write to the Dewan and |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | instructions to him to explain the contents of his note in Captain Abbot and to transmit to the said person the Captain's observations. |
| 141 | 22nd Bhadon, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of the Dewan's communication and the petitions of the *Kardars* through Lala Moti Lal Vakil. Instructions to get the villages of Mastpur and Chakdal, which according to the demarcation of boundaries had been separated from the *ilaqa* of Jasrota and placed under the Sarkar, transferred to Dewan Bishan Singh. Re: the *Jamabandi* papers of five villages in the *ilaqa* of Lala Tek Chand, the same had been sent through Lala Moti Lal. As regards the *ilaqa* of Manawar and its proper administration by Kanhya Lal *Kardar*, a letter had been written in the name of the said person. Regarding Bhai Dal Singh's request about the grant of jagir in the plains in the *ilaqa* of Rawalpindi in exchange for jagir in the mountainous regions, a *Parwana* had been sent in the name of the said person to get the needful done through the Dewan. As regards the demarcation of the boundary of the *ilaqa* of Kahuta and the surrounding area, the Sarkar would accept whatever would be done by Captain Abbot Sahib. |
| | | | TRUE COPY. |
| 142 | 10th Bhadon, Sambat 1904 | Lala Gulab Rai. | Intimation that the village of Qadirpur, which had been founded |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | by Chaudhari Qadir Bakhsh in the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh had been from the *Kharif* crop of Sambat 1904 transferred to Dewan Bishan Singh. Instructions to him to get the same transferred to the Dewan. |
| 143 | 10th Bhadon, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Bishan Singh. | Intimation that the village of Qadirpur, founded by Chaudhari Qadir Bakhsh in the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh had been transferred to his charge since the beginning of the *Kharif* crop, Sambat 1904. Accordingly directions to him to bring the said village under his control to pay the revenue to the Sarkar, not to allow the zamindars of the other villages, according to the rules and regulations which obtained in the day of the Big Maharaja, to meddle with those who would have settled there recently, and to look after the Chaudhari properly. |
| 144 | 11th Bhadon, Sambat 1904 | Mian Yakki. | Instructions to him to let the well, which had been granted by him to "Ujjal Didar" Rattan Singh Commandant, remain in his possession and not to interfere with it on the instigation of the interested parties. |
| | | | TRUE COPY. |
| 145 | 24th Bhadon, Sambat 1904 | "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Dal Singh. | Instructions with regard to the allocation of the *jagirs* of Raja of Ghagar Werwala and Baudla, Zaman Ali, Raja Sawdle Khan, Sultan Khan and the son of Raja |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | Madad Khan and others according to the directions of Captain Abbot Sahib and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 146 | 31st Bhadon, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of his letter, especially requesting for the sending of *Parwanas* to Lala Kanhya Lal *Kardar* of Manawar, Bhai Dal Singh and Dewan Bishan Singh. Information of the distribution of batteries among the *Fauj-i-Ain*. Suggestion of Captain Abbot Sahib that the compensation for the loss caused in the country of Hazara would be paid by Raja Gulab Singh during two years. Intimation about the sending of Rs. 903-12-0 as per requisition of Lala Moti Ram. Approval of the suggestion of Capt. Abbot Sahib about loss caused in the country of Hazara; and other minor news. |
| 147 | 28th September, 1847 A.D. | Sada Singh. | Orders to appoint, on receipt of the *Parwana*, two hundred *Sowars* under his command for the protection of village Kallar. |
| | | | HARKISHAN GARH. |
| 148 | 27th Asuj, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of his letter. Expression of an earnest wish that Captain Abbot Sahib, gifted as he is with intelligence and sense of justice, would demarcate the boundaries on a permanent basis, since change of places caused hardship to the subjects. |
| 149 | 29th Asuj, Sambat 1904 | Lala Shadi Lal. | Receipt of his letter, instructions to send detailed news about the place on receipt of the *parwana*. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 150 | 11th Katick, Sambat 1904 | "Ujjal Didar" "Nirmal Budh" Bhai Dal Singh. | Instructions that he should request Captain Abbot Sahib for granting him the villages of Sopa, etc. He should accept the same if handed over to him by the Captain and, in case the same were passed on to Lala Kishan Chand, he should not make any request. |
| 151 | 19th Katick, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Receipt of a petition from Khushal Beg, *kardar* of Doyanwala, through Lala Tek Chand, to the effect that Lala Kanhya Lal, Munshi of Raja Gulab Singh, had of his own established his authority and control over the village of Tarewa, Instructions to the Dewan that in case the said village was transferred to Raja Gulab Singh at the time of the demarcation of the boundaries, he should not say anything about it. But in case the same remained with the Sarkar he should request Captain Abbot Sahib to ask the *ahlkars* of the Raja not to interfere with the village and to refund any amount that might have been realized by them. |
| 152 | 29th Katick, Sambat 1904 | Do. | Receipt of his letter. As solicited by him, *parwanas* written to "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Dal Singh, *kardar* of Pindi, and Mahon Singh, *kardar* of Khatar, Bhai Surjan Singh, *kardar* of Chhajja Mehta Kishan Chand, *kardar* of Gahar and Khota and Baghel |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract |
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| | | | Singh, *kardar* of Janpur for procuring supplies, etc., for Captain Abbot Sahib. |
| 153 | 29th Katik, Sambat 1904 | Mehta Kishan Chand. | Emphatic orders to ask the traders of the locality to supply continuously provisions to the troops wherever Captain Abbot Sahib might stay along with the party of the Sarkar. |
| 154 | Do | "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Dal Singh, *kardar* of Rawalpindi. | Subject the same as above. |
| 155 | 4th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Lala Dya Ram, Saraf. | Intimation that the village of Mastpur in the *ilaqa* of Parol had since the beginning of the *rabih* crop, 1904 Sambat been included in Narot in exchange for Khotoya according to the will of Captain Abbot Sahib. Again, under the directions of the Captain Mastpur and Chakwal had been granted as jagir to Chaudhari Sanghara, a devoted servant of the Sarkar. Instructions that Rs. 100 from the said jagir should be given to the aforesaid person. |
| 156 | 5th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | *Kardar* of Mool. | Instructions to write out and produce as desired by Dewan Ajudhia Parshad the account of income and expenditure since the *rabi* crop, Sambat 1904. |
| 157 | Do | Moti Ram *kardar* of Ghariali. | Directions that a detailed statement about the accounts of Ghariali which had been prepared |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | with the help of Chaudhari Ghulam Ali should be handed over to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. But the same should not be depended upon and inquiries should be made from other respectable persons. |
| 158 | 5th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Lala Gobind Sahai, *kardar* of Gujrat. | Directions for sending the accounts of the expenses of the *dera* as the same were to be scrutinized. |
| 159 | Do. | Misar Rup Lal. | Subject the same as above. |
| 160 | Do. | " Ujjal Di lar " Bhai Dal Singh, *kardar* of Rawalpindi. | Instructions that whatever *jagir* should be allotted to the Raja (of Ghaghar) and other persons from the mountainous territories by Captain Abbot Sahib as a result of the demarcation of boundaries should be transferred to them. |
| 161 | Do. | Do. | Instructions to give effect to the changes made by Captain Abbot Sahib in connection with the demarcation of boundaries in the *ilaqa* of Rawalpindi. To render account about the villages to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad and to prepare a statement of the dues realized by the *ahlkars* of Raja Gulab Singh. |
| | | | TRUE COPY. |
| 162 | 8th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Officers of Cavalry appointed at Hazara. | Since in recent times the expenses of the Sarkar had exceeded income, it was necessary that two thousands *sowars* should be retrenched. With a view to obviate any hardship on any |

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person, it was decided under the instructions of John Lawrence, acting agent to the Governor-General and Resident at Lahore, that the *sowars* at the under-mentioned places should be counted :—Lahore, Hasan Abdal, Hazara, Peshawar and Bannu.

In this manner at the time of the general mustering in the presence of Sardar and the Sahib Bahadur it will be enquired from the *sowars* as to how many of them would disband willingly and proceed to their homes. They would be granted pension. After this inquiry pension would be fixed thus : Persons who had served for 35 years would be granted half the salary and payment would be made yearly. Those who had served for thirty years would be given one-third, those having served for twenty-five years one-fourth and those with twenty years' service one-sixth. In the case of those who had served for more than seven years and less than twenty years the dues would be paid till the date of dismissal and they would be given six months' pay as reward. They would be entitled to receive it from the royal treasury after six months. The *munshis* of every *dera* of the *sowars* in accordance with the records

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | at the office, should ascertain the period of service of every *sowar* and should prepare a separate report according to the chart given below and give it to every one of the *sowars*. At the time of the muster, in case the *sowar* accepted to be discharged on pension, it should be recorded at the back of the chart. The same should be countersigned by the Commanding Officer of the district. The *munshi* of every *dera*, supposing there were 500 *sowars* in a *dera*, should prepare a statement about all of them on a broad sheet according to the individual charts and keep it with himself. It should be properly arranged lest there should be any trouble at the time of consulting it. Besides every *sowar* should produce at the Durbar a chart duly signed by him and without any hesitation, just on observing the two signatures, a *parwana* should be issued to Misar Megh Raj to make the necessary payment to the *sowar* without any waste of time and money. In case the Munshi of *dera* would not keep his chart ready he would be questioned for negligence. The royal order has been issued and a model chart is attached herewith in order to enable you to do the same n connection with your *dera*. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | TRUE COPY. |
| 163 | 9th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Sardar Chattar Singh Attari-wala. | Instructions about the collection of coins minted in the year 84 and 88 (1884 and 1888 Sambat ?) and the sending of the same to the Durbar as desired by John Lawrence, acting Agent to the Governor-General and Resident at Lahore. |
| 164 | 15th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Intimation that pursuant of his application *Parwanas* have been issued to Bhai Dal Singh, *Kardar* of Rawalpindi, to procure necessary quantity of grain, etc. |
| 165 | Do | "Ujjal Didar" Bhai Dal Singh. | Orders to him to procure five thousand maunds of grain at the places to be specified by Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 166 | 18th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | *Amils* of the *ta'lqua* of Narot. | Intimation that, according to the decree of Captain Abbot, the place had been since the *Rabi* crop of Sambat 1904, exchanged for the village of Khetoya and included in Narot. From the village of Mastpur and Chakwal the Sahib had granted a Jagir worth Rs. 100 to Chaudhari Shanghara in recognition of his services. No interference, therefore, should be made with the same. |
| 167 | 28th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Lala Kanhya Lal | Instructions to the Lala to immediately get the summons for a party whenever sent for by Sardar Kanh Singh Man. It had been noticed that such orders were not complied with. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | TRUE COPY. |
| 168 | 19th Maghar, Sambat 1904 | Lala Kanhya Lal | Intimation that John Lawrence, acting Agent to the Governor-General and Resident at Lahore, had appointed Major Benner (?) Sahib as incharge of buildings. Accordingly the Lala should obey his orders and supply any material required by him. |
| 169 | 4th Poh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Intimation that under orders of John Lawrence, acting Agent to the Governor-General and Resident at Lahore, the dues from the menials were not to be charged any longer. Accordingly he should also not charge any dues from the menials. |
| 170 | 9th Poh, Sambat 1904 | Do | Complaints about the non-compliance of the state officials and employees with the orders of the Durbar. Emphatic orders to carry out the instructions of the Sarkar on pains of severe penalties. |
| 171 | 23rd Poh, Sambat 1904 | Lala Ram Dyal, *Kardar* of Narot. | Captain Abbot, Commissioner for the demarcation of boundaries, and Dewan Ajudhia Parshad visiting that part of the country. Instructions to him to be present with the Dewan and to supply the provisions, etc. |
| 172 | 10th Magh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Instructions to the Dewan to come to Lahore along with Captain Abbot Sahib and bring with himself papers about the transactions on the boundary. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 173 | 15th Magh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Expression of a desire that, since the Dewan is a true and loyal well-wisher of the Sarkar, and since the Sahibs in general and Capt. Abbot Sahib in particular happens to be just and intelligent, the demarcation of the boundaries over the plains and hills will be done properly and strictly in accordance with the terms of the treaty. The Dewan might know the revenue proceeds of the country across river Jhelum up to Hazara which was earlier a *ta'luqa* of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He might also be knowing the collections made therefrom. Instructions to the Dewan for the settlement of revenue and territorial claims of the Sarkar and Raja Gulab Singh. About the *ta'luqa* of Bajwat, which was from very early times granted to Sardar Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief, it was settled with the said Raja before Henry Montgomery, and Col. Lawrence Sahib Bahadur that he would accept compensation for the same. |
| 174 | 16th Magh, Sambat 1904 | Do | Receipt of his letter of the 15th instant along with the communications of Captain Abbot Sahib of the 13th and 14th instant in connection with the restitution of Chiral and Ranjitgarh to the Sarkar from Maharaja Gulab Singh as a result of the demarcatior of the boundaries. Expression of the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | hope that the Sahibs were renowned in the world for justice and fair play and paid due attention to the maintenance of the kingdom of Lahore. In particular Capt. Abbot was very judicious and had acquitted himself exceptionally well in the demarcation of boundaries. The country across river Jhelum, which was earlier with Raja Gulab Singh, was known to him very well. Instructions for the realization of the revenue of the place. Particulars about the exchange of some other places with Raja Gulab Singh. Appeal for justice and consideration at the hands of Captain Abbot. |
| 175 | 19th Magh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Observations on the dispute about Chapral and Ranjitgarh. Complaint against the *Ahlkars* of the rival party, since the same places had been ordered to be handed over to the Sarkar, for their non-compliance with those orders. Details about the case of Chapral. |
| 176 | 25th Magh, Sambat 1904 | Do | Instructions to refund Rs. 8000/- of the last year which related to Chapral to the *Ahlkars* of Maharaja Gulab Singh and demand for Rs. 38,000 from the Raja in full payment of the dues and to report fully about the *ta'luqa*. Directions to explain that Ranjitgarh had been founded by Baba Sahib Singh |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | Bedi in memory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Instructions to the Dewan to report to Captain Abbot all about the interference in the *ta'luqa* by the *Ahlkars* of the Raja. |
| 177 | 29th Magh, Sambat 1904 | Dewan Ajudhia Pershad. | Instructions to act according to a communication of John Lawrence, acting Agent to the Governor-General and Resident at Lahore, which would reach him shortly. |
| | | | TRUE COPY. |
| 178 | 31st Chet, Sambat 1905 | Do | Intimation about the sending of Rs. 2,095 as balance from the account of the Royal Camp to S. Shamsher Singh. Instructions to send back Lala Radhe Kishan Munshi and to send a detailed receipt taken from him. |
| 179 | Do | Do | Subject the same as above. |
| 180 | 13th Basakh, Sambat 1905 | Do | Instructions to keep two out of the ten Sahnsis with him and to send the rest to the Sarkar. |
| 181 | Do | Do | Instructions to despatch, on receipt of the *Parwana*, four *Sowars* with him to Raja Sher Singh at Chichawatni. |
| 182 | 31st Basakh, Sambat 1905 | Lala Kanhya Lal | Instructions to expedite the building of the embankment, since, under orders from Captain Abbot Sahib, Dewan Ajudhia Parshad was staying at Jhelum simply for the fulfilment of that purpose. Further asked to get a letter of satisfaction from the Dewan and send the same to the Durbar. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 183 | 31st Basakh, Sambat 1905 | Dewan Bishan Singh. | Subject the same as in the preceding *Parwana.* |
| 184 | Do | Kardars of Karyanwala. | Subject the same as above. |
| 185 | Do | L. Gulab Rai. | Do |
| 186 | Do | Misar Rup Lal. | Do |
| 187 | 1st Jeth, Sambat 1905 | "Nirmal Budh", "Ujjal Didar" Sardar Tar Singh Attariwala. | Intimation that under standing orders of the Sarkar the *Jagirdars* were required at their own cost to build embankment of brick and mortar according to the directions of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. Accordingly informed that the said Dewan had spoken to the *Ahlkar* of his *Jagir* a number of times in connection with the same; but he had procastinated; and that the Dewan had undertaken the work by spending a hundred rupees from his own pocket. Therefore emphatically ordered to avoid any further delay in the completion of the work and repay Rs. 100 spent by the Dewan. |
| 188 | 1st Jeth, Sambat 1905 | Lala Devi Sahai, Kardar of Ghari Ghariali. | Objection to improper building of the embankment. Sending of Rs. 50 with a view to get it done according to the specifications. |
| 189 | 12th Har, Sambat 1905 | *Dharam Arthies* and Jagirdars. | Emphatic instructions to them to construct new *Pucca* embankments instead of the defective *Kachha* structures, failing which they would be punished. |
| 190 | Do | *Kardars* and *Dharam Arthies* of the Rachna Doab. | Subject the same as above. |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| 191 | 20th Har, Sambat 1905 | *Dharam Arthies* of the villages on the northern frontier. | Emphatic orders to build embankments strictly in conformity with the specifications of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 192 | 1st Sawan, Sambat 1905 | Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. | Report of the confiscation of the revenue of the *Jagir* of Sultan Ali Shah in return for the cost of building of 14 small towers. Instructions to the Dewan to report in detail about the matter. |
| 193 | 8th Sawan, Sambat 1905 | Jagirdar of the village of Jattar. | Instructions to build embankments according to the specification of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 194 | Do | Misar Shanker Das. | Instructions about "*Toda bandi*," etc. |
| 195 | Do | Zamindars of the village of Kamali. | Instructions to build a new tower in place of the old one which had fallen into ruins. |
| 196 | Do | S. Ram Singh Jhallawalia. | Instructions to arrange for the laying out of a brick kiln for "*Toda bandi*" at Sakhar, Gangwal and Belolpur. |
| 197 | Do | Chaudhari, Brick manufacturer of Sakhar. | Instructions about the supply of kilned bricks to Dewan Ajudhia Parshad. |
| 198 | 25th Bhadon, Sambat 1905 | L. Kanhya Lal, *Kardar* of Bhalolpur and Gangwal. | Orders to send a letter of satisfaction under the signature of Dewan Ajudhia Parshad to the effect that a "*Pucca*" boundary line had been built between the territories of the Sarkar and Raja Gulab Singh. |
| 199 | 18th Asuj, Sambat 1905 | The *Kardars* of the *Ilaqa* of Chajja near the boundary line. | Report about the decay of the earlier "*Kacha*" "*Todas*" on account of rains. Instructions to them to ask the zamindars of the |

| No. | Date | To whom addressed. | Abstract. |
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| | | | *Ilaqa* to repair the "*Todas*" every year on pain of severe punishment. |
| 200 | 18th Asuj, Sambat 1905 | *Kardars* and zamindars of Nala Chakki. | Orders to repair every year with plaster the "*Todas*" which were "*Kacha*" |
| 201 | Do | *Kardars* of the *Ilaqa* of Doaba Bari. | Report about the falling of the "*Kacha*" *Todas* on account of rains. Instructions to repair them every year on pain of severe penalties. |
| 202 | Do | *Kardars* of the *Ilaqa* of Doab Rachna. | The subject the same as above. |
| 203 | 16th Katik, Sambat 1905 | Misar Shanker Das. | Instructions to replace "*Kacha*" *Todas* on the boundaries with "*Pucca*" ones. |

# AKHBARAT-I-SIKHAN

VOL—I.

News from the country of Peshawar.

ff. 272 ; 11. (14-16); 10.7", x 6.2", 9" x 4"; Shikasta, slightly worm-eaten and at places soiled with water; within red and black margin ; new paragraphs indicated by overlining the opening words, additions in the margin.

Beginning : امروز دوازدهم ماه چیت سمت ۹۶ اخبارات.....انج

Author : Unknown.

Dated : The 12th Chet—32nd Jeth, 1896 B. E.

General Form : The manuscript contains News-letters, 82 news sheets in all, covering 250 folios. The news-letters describe the daily activities of Chevialier Avitabile and Kanwar Naunihal Singh in the country of Peshawar. They give us a vivid account of the Sikh Court at Gur Garhi and the durbar business has been minutely described. At time we get glimpses of the military operations in Qandhar, but the main purpose of the reporter seems to be the recording of day-to-day events and not the discussion of any matter of constitutional or political importance. The news-sheets are just like the court bulletins of the modern times but we can derive useful information about the administrative notions of the provincial officials during the Sikh period. It must however be borne in mind that the reporter has not setforth in a cut-and-dried language any system of government, but he faithfully depicts the mood and temperament of the man on the spot who wields absolute authority and is only at times subject to the instructions of the Maharaja.

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## AKHBARAT-I-SIKHAN. (P. U. L. Collection Pe III 30)

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| Chet 13, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds "Durbar"; consultations about a feast to Wade and Prince Taimur (3.fa); news about Chet Ram; Wade's visit to Avitabile; their conversation; bad state of road between Lahore and Attock (f. 4a); Wade, Avitabile and Court go for sight-seeing (f.4b). |
| Chet 14, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar, news about Dost Mohd's movements (f.5a) reporter sent to Wade, request about Mirza Mohd Baksh; construction of a throne for Taimur; (f.5b) clamour of the Gorkha regiment; theft in Sumergarh fort; Doctor's visit to Wade (f.6a); Mohd. Afzal's movements; Avitabile's visit to the Cantonment; (f.6b). |
| Chet 15, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar; proposal for calling an Afridi Jirga; report about the Afridis; (f.7a). Report about Mohd Akbar's movements (f.7b). Conversation between Avitabile and Wade's emissary regarding troops; request of the Zamindars; Avitabile's instructions to the fort officers (f.8a). Rates of various commodities; Visit to Taimur; Wade and Taimur still staying near Peshawar; (f.8b). |
| Chet 16, 1896 B. E. | Conversation between Wade and the news-writer; Wade's talk about some officers and troops (ff.9a and b); settlement about the date of Taimur's coronation (f.10a); Murray's arrival in Wade's camp (f.10b). |
| Chet 17, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar, arrival of a messenger from Ali Masjid and his report; conversation between Avitabile and the Caravanmen from Peshawar; (f.11a); report about Dost Mohd's movements; report about Chet Ram (f.11b) news about Mohd Akbar's movements; Avitabile's talk with Lachhmi Parshad about difficulties at Peshawar; (f.12a); Zamindar's complaints to Wade at Gur Garhi; (f.12b). |
| Chet 18, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar; Court's letter about Fateh Din; report about Mohd. Akbar's movements*; arrival of Pir Mohd; (f.13a); checking of accounts; arrival of |

* Insurance of Wade's presence.

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| | Kanhaya Lal; checking of his accounts; Avitabile abuses him; (f.13b): news about Kabul; (f.14a); arrangements about Taimur's coronation; (f.14b). |
| Chet 19, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar; movements of Mohd Akbar; Wade's camp at Fatehgarh fort (f.15a); report about the Fatehgarh fort by the Kotwal; Avitabile's talk with the Kotwal; (f.15b); arrival of Yusuf; Avitabile's talk with Atman Singh, Pearay Lal and the Gorkha regiment commander; (f.16a); enthronement of Taimur (f.16b). |
| Chet 20, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar; letter of Wade regarding the provision of tents; (f.17a); news about Taimur; Kashmira Singh and Fatehgarh fort; (ff.17a & b); arrival of fifty horsemen at Wade's camp (f.17b): report about Mir Mohd Khan; "Patta" of one lakh for Pearay Lal (f.18a); news-writer's audience with Wade (f.18b). |
| Chet 21, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile visits Court at Gur Garhi, inspection by Wade, Allard, Pharray (?); Wassen (?) and Taimur; (ff.19a & b); their departure (f.20a); arrival of Chet Ram with two lakh of rupees; to meet Avitabile the next day; (f.20b). |
| Chet 22, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile holds Durbar, his instructions to Yusuf Kotwal; arrival of Court at Gur Garhi, despatch of a rider to Wade's camp; letter to Ajudhia Parshad; (f.21a); arrival of Sham Singh's emissary (f.21b) reception of Wade and Taimur by Avitabile and Court (ff.21b & 22a); arrival in Ali Mardan's garden; Taimur visits Sumergarh fort; private conversation between Wade and Avitabile; talk between the news-writer and Wade; Mir Mohd's visit to Wade; (f.22b). |
| Chet 23, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; news about Dost Mohd's activities (f.23a) news of Mohd Akbar's illness; Avitabile's letter to Ventura (f.23b) Qazi Abdul Hamid's arrival; arrival of gun-powder makers of Peshawar; Jamadar |

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| Chet 25, 1896 B. E. | Avitabile inspects trenches of Sumergarh; discovers fraud of Rajkaur; clearance of labourer's wages (f.27a); routine business in the court; submission of Mir Alam to Taimur; report about Dost Mohd and Akbar (f.27b); letter of Wade; Avitabile visits Wade (f.28a & f.28b). |
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# AKHBARAT-I-SIKHAN.

## VOL—II.

News from the country of Peshawar.

ff.226; 11. (13-14); 10.5″×6.2″,8.5″×4″; Shikasta; slightly worm-eaten and at places soiled with water; within red and black margin; new paragraphs indicated by overlining the opening words; additions in the margin;

Beginning: امروز یکشنبه دویم ماه بهادوں اخبارات پشاور.....الخ

Author: Unknown.

Dated: The 2nd Bhadon-29th Maghar, 1898 B. E.

General Form: The manuscript contains the detailed reports of the activities of Avitabile. The news-sheets from 18th to 28th Maghar are missing; while those from 3rd to 5th Maghar are misplaced. The reporter has very carefully described the day-to-day administrative business in the court of Avitabile. The majority of the news deal with two local rebellions one by Yar Hussain and the other in the Yusufzai territory. The durbar business depicted in this volume is of very little historical importance as it simply concerns with petitions, plaints complaints and grievances of the officers as well as the revenue matters of the locality.

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| Bhadon 6, 1898 B. E. | Fatehdin Khan's report of his clash with Yar Hussain and Avitabile's approval of his action (f.9a); Wade's letter about the provision of transport for Major Todd and his companions (f.9b). |
| Bhadon 7, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; report about Akhtar Khan's movement at Karashk; routine business (f.11a); Muslim platoon's agents' supplication for salary; Avitabile's blunt answer, "We are not alchemists"; Lachhmi Parshad's report about expenses (f.11b); report about Wade's illness (f.12a); Avitabile's enquiry about Syed Akbar Shah from the Syeds of Kotla and their reply (f.12b). |
| Bhadon 8, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's inspection of the Najeeb platoon; durbar routine; application of Daulat Khan's son (f.13a); Wade's letter concerning the case of women of the Khyber area (f.13b); Hyder Ali's letter about the clash with Yar Hussain (ff.13b & 14a); Avitabile's letter to Abdul Qadir Khan; Durbar routine (f.14b). |
| Bhadon 9, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; complete information about Syed Akbar Ali Shah (f.15a); routine business; report about Yar Hussain's activities (f.15b); Avitabile's letter to the Maharaja (f.16b). |
| Bhadon 10, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's inspection of the Najeeb platoon; his visit to Wade; Khyberis' plunder of bulls; description of the clash with the Khyberis (f.17a); durbar routine (f.17b); report of the officers of the Muslim platoon about the clash with Yar Hussain (f.18a); Dewan Waisakha Singh's letter containing a complaint of defiance against the Muslim platoon; Maharaja's letter to Avitabile (f.18b). |
| Bhadon 11, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar routine (f.19a); rejection of Khawaja Mohd Khan's request (f.19b); letter of Hyder Ali Khan accusing Abdul Qadir Khan for secretly helping Yar Hussain (f.20a); Avitabile's instructions to officers to proceed slowly towards Kumat (f.20b). |

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| Bhadon 12, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile holds durbar; petition of Ahmad Khan; Arrangements for the revenue collection from the Yusufzais (f. 21a); report of Saeed Khan's flight towards Kabul from Kohat; Avitabile's letter to the Maharaja concerning a Jagir dispute; report of the news-writer Har Jas Mal about the consultations held by the officer of the Muslim platoon; (f. 21b); unsuitability of Kumat as a battlefield; rallying of the Yusufzais round Yar Hussain; hostility of Abdul Qadir Khan; traders' complaint of dacoities on highways (f. 22a); posting of troopers for the protection of Hassan Abdul-Baoli road; petition of Arsala Khan; arrival of the Zamindars (f. 22b). |
| Bhadon 13, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; Thanadar of Kohat received in audience; Avitabile's instructions to the Thanadar; English treasurer's complaint of theft; Avitabile's assurance of the punishment to the culprits (f. 23a); Avitabile's instructions to the agent of Arsala Khan; Lala Lachhmi Parshad's revelations to Avitabile about the English threat to Shah Shuja at the latter's disapproval of inadequate subsidies (f. 23b); tragic death of a faithless and disloyal woman; report of the English troop-movements towards Qandhar (f. 24a) report of the political situation in the Hazara district; news of Dayenda Khan's movements (f. 24b). |
| Bhadon 14, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's inspection of the platoons; durbar at Gur Garhi; letter of Captain Mackeson; his report of the theft of bulls by the Tirah men and not the Khyberis; report of the flight of two servants of Alexander Burnes and its reasons (f. 25a); Avitabile's letter to Mackeson; his condemnation both of the Tirahis and the Khyberis; resentment against the hostility of Nawab Khan and Saeed Khan; grievances of the ryot; his dissatisfaction with his present job (f. 25b); report of Col. Lafoot about his preparations; durbar routine (f. 26a); report about Mohd Saeed Khan's movements; rates of various commodities (f. 26b). |

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| Bhadon 15, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; his anxiety for the safety of travellers on the Attock road; frequency of dacoities; request to the Maharaja for the appointment of troopers (f. 27a); Mackeson's letter containing accounts; report of Mohd. Saeed Khan's movements; Amir Mohd. Khan's report of a clash between the Khyberis and the Tirahis and the defeat of the latter (f. 27b); feast in honour of Col. Lafoot's farewell; report of Nawab Khan's attacks (f. 28a); discussion between Avitabile and Mackeson about the high-handedness of the Tirahis and the Khyberis (f. 28b). |
| Bhadon 16, 1898 B. E. | Inspection of Gur Garhi; Avitabile's durbar; report of a quarrel between Ram Dass and Raj Kanwar Maharaja's enquiry about the revenues (f. 29a); Avitabile's reply to the Maharaja's enquiries (f. 29b); durbar routine (f. 30a); petition of Arsala Khan (f. 30b). |
| Bhadon 17, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile hears petitions; holds durbar; Maharaja's letter; despatch of forces for quelling the Yusufzai rebellion (f. 31a); petition of the officers of the Muslim cavalry; complaint against Abdul Qadir's neglect (f. 31b); Muqqarrab Khan's assurance of help; Daula Singh's complaint against Abdul Qadir (f. 32a); durbar routine (f. 32b). |
| Bhadon 18, 1898 B. E. | Durbar in Gur Garhi; routine business (f. 33a); Abdul Qadir's letter; Avitabile's letter to the Maharaja (f. 33b); Avitabile's helplessness; his realisation of his pitiable condition (f. 34a); durbar routine (f. 34b). |
| Bhadon 19, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; Maharaja's reward to the Vanquishers of Nawab Khan; orders for the award of prizes to loyalists amongt the Muslim Cavalry-men and punishment for the disloyal (f. 35a); Avitabile's detailed reply (f. 35b); Avitabile's orders for the confiscation of salt found with the smugglers (f. 36a); report about the Yusafzais; news about Mackeson (f. 36b). |

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| Bhadon 20, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; Daula Singh's condemnations of the double-dealing attitude of Abdul Qadir, instructions for the repair of fort walls; report about Sardar Khawaja Mohd. Khan's departure from Kohat (f.37a); Lala Lachhman Parshad's recommendation for the traders; petition of the Attock boat-men (f.37b); durbar routine; Abdul Qadir's letter (f. 38a). |
| Bhadon 21, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; petition of the officers of the Muslim cavalry; allegations against Abdul Qadir (f.39a); petition of Kanhaya Singh (f.39b); report of the Ahluwalia agent about the Yusufzai high-handedness; durbar routine (f.40a); news about Captain Mackeson's activities (f. 40b). |
| Bhadon 22, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar; petition of Arsala Khan for an increased supply of gun-powder; Avitabile's reply to Arsala Khan's letter (f.41a); Captain Amir Khan's report about the good morale of the Najeeb platoon (f. 41b); Shortage of currency in the Attock fort; (f. 42a); hearing of the case of a prostitute (ff.42a & b). |
| Bhadon 23, 1898 B. E. | Letter of instructions to Arsala Khan; report of reinforcements to the Yusufzais (f.43a); Hyder Ali's report of the rebels of Yar Hussain (f.43b); details of the rebellion (f.44a); unimportant durbar routine (f.44b). |
| Bhadon 24, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's inspection of platoons; durbar at Gur-Garhi; durbar routine; letter to Hussain Khan (f.45a); Peer Bakhsh's report of a deshonest servant of Macnaughten (f.45b); pasting of posters on city walls. |
| Bhadon 25, 1898 B. E. | Routine (ff. 46a & b); Examination of accounts (f. 48a); Avitabile's plan to quell the Yusufzai insurrection (f.48b); report of the battle with the Yusufzais (f.47a); Avitabile's conversation with the Lahore envoy to Kasghar (f.47a). |
| Bhadon 26, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's instructions to architects and labourers; durbar at Gur Garhi; unimportant routine in the |

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| | durbar (f. 49a); petition of the Najeeb Captain; Lala Seva Ram's report about the progress of the constructions in forts (f.49b); staff consultations at Peshawar (f.50a); durbar routine (f.40b). |
| Bhadon 27, 1898 B. E. | Hearing of cases in the Court-room; disposal of applications of a routine nature (f.51a); orders for the preparation of accounts (f.51b); agent of the son of Daulat Khan makes a complaint against Mohd. Khan Biloch; Maharaja's orders about the despatch of troops against the Yusufzais (f.52a); Avitabile's conversations with Hussain Ali (f.52b). |
| Bhadon 28, 1898 B. E. | Arrival of some officers from Herat; Macknaughten and other Kabul officers accuse them of derelection of duty; the former's justification of their action; English temptation to the four chiefs of Ghazni (f.53a); report of Mackeson's arrival in Loharki (f.53b); unimportant routine business in Avitabile's court (f.54a). |
| Bhadon 29, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's inspection of the Najeeb platoon; petition of Sohan Lal, agent of Bhagat Ram; petition of the officers of the Muslim platoon (f.55a); durbar routine (f.55b); Hyder Ali's report of the increase in the number of the rebels (f.56a). |
| Bhadon 30, 1898 B. E. | Report of Yar Hussain's atrocities (f.59a); rates of various commodities (f.59b); Arsala Khan's complaint against Abdul Qadir and others (f.60a). |
| Aswaj 1, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's reply to the Maharaja's letter (f.61a); durbar routine; instructions to the officers of the Muslim cavalry (f.61b); Khair Din Khan's and Jalal Khan's report of their part in the fight against Yar Hussain (f.62a). |
| Aswaj 2, 1898 B. E. | Durbar routine (f.63a); report of the battle by the officers of the Muslim cavalry (ff. 63b & 64a). |
| Aswaj 3, 1898 B. E. | Maharaja's letter to Avitabile (f. 65a); report about Yar Hussain's rebellion and his atrocities (f. 65b); report about the Yusufzais (f. 66a); |

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| | details of casualties in the Yar Hussain battle (f. 66b); report about Mackeson's activities (f. 66b). |
| Aswaj 4, 1898 B. E. | Darbar routine ; Yusufzai news-letter ; report of a split among the Yusufzai allies (f. 67a) ; supplies to Hyder Ali Khan (f. 67b) ordinary durbar business (f. 68a) news about Mackeson's activities (f. 68b). |
| Aswaj 5, 1898 B. E. | Instructions to the platoon officers posted in the Yusufzai territory (f. 59a) ; Mackesons's letter to Avitabile concerning the purchase of salt (f. 70a) ; disposal of applications of a routine nature (f. 70b). |
| Aswaj 6, 1898 B. E. | Bad state of the morale of the Muslim cavalry for lack of funds ; report of Amir Khan about defeating his opponents (f. 71a) ; Avitabile's instructions to Lala Salamat Rai (f. 71b) ; routine business (ff. 72a & b). |
| Aswaj 7, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar business (f. 73a) ; report of Ahmad Khan's death (f. 73b) ; visit to the Najeeb cantonment ; Maharaja's letter ; Mackeson's letter to Avitabile (f. 74a ); routine work (f. 74b). |
| Aswaj 8, 1898 B. E. | Preparation for Dussehra (f. 75a) ; Mackeson's letter (f. 75b) ; report of the case of an attempted abduction (f. 76a) ; durbar routine (f. 76b). |
| Aswaj 8, 1898 B. E. | Details of the supplies to the army posted in the Yusufzai territory (f. 77a) ; report of the march of Ram Sahai's platoon from Toru to Holi ; report of the siege of Hundat (f. 77b) ; unimportant durbar routine (f. 78b). |
| Aswaj 9, 1898 B. E. | Report of the officers posted in the Yusufzai territory about the rebellion ; instructions to the Hakim for looking after the ailing soldiers (f. 79a) ; Hussain & Nasrulla's report about their activities in Khatak (f. 79b) ; durbar routine (f. 80b). |
| Aswaj 10, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar at Gur Garhi ; provision of an escort for an officer going to Ferozepur ; durbar routine (f. 81a) ; Muslim cavalry-officers report of the |

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| | rebels activities (f. 81b) ; Mackeson's letter (f. 82a) ; Captain Penny's visit to Avitabile (f. 82b). |
| Aswaj 11, 1898 B. E. | Mackeson's letter ; report of Elphinston's intended return to his own country (f. 83a) ; Maharaja's letters (f. 83b) ; Avitabile's reply (f. 84a) ; report about the Yar Hussain's rebellion (f. 84b). |
| Aswaj 12. 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; petition of the Tajukhel chiefs about the revenue (f. 85a) ; durbar routine (f. 86b). |
| Aswaj 13, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's letter to various officers (f. 87a) ; Darya Khan's petition (f. 87b) ; report of the paucity of money amongst cavalry-men (f. 88a) ; Durbar routine (f. 88b). |
| Aswaj 14, 1898 B. E. | Durbar routine ; report of the military situation by the officers posted in the Yusufzai territory (f. 89a) ; Avitabile's letter of congratulations to the officers ; details of casualties (f. 89a) ; durbar business (f. 90b). |
| Aswaj 15, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; Amir Khan's petition ; (f. 91a); details of the clash ; letter of Arsala Khan (f. 91b); Mackeson's letter (f. 92a) ; Avitabile's reply (f. 92b). |
| Aswaj 16, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar at Gur Garhi, report of the agent posted in the Yusufzai territory (f. 93a) ; letters from Hyder Ali and others about details of Yar Hussain's operations (f. 94b). |
| Aswaj 17, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; letter of Moti Ram ; Avitabile's reply ; Mackeson's letter to Avitabile (f. 95a) ; the latter's reply (f. 95b) ; Avitabile's instructions to Captain Amir Khan (f. 96a) ; application of Khair Din Khan, agent of Zamal Din of Kasur ; Avitabile's visit to Dussehra Wala (f. 95b). |
| Aswaj 18, 1898 B. E. | Inspection of Dussehra Wala ; durbar at Gur Garhi ; application of Salamat Rai ; Avitabile's reply ; instructions to the Maliks (f. 97a) ; disposal of unimportant durbar routine business (f. 97b) ; Mackeson's letter ; his anxiety about his loss of gold articles (f. 97b) ; letter of the officers posted in the Yusufzai territory ; details of casualties (ff. 98a & b). |

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| Aswaj 19, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; Maharaja's letter concerning the dispute of Arsala Khan and Amir Khan and other routine affairs (f. 99a) ; Avitabile's instructions to Lala Lachhmi Parshad to write a detailed reply ; (f. 99b) ; unimportant durbar routine (f. 108b). |
| Aswaj 20, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; purchase of salt (f. 101a) ; routine business. |
| Aswaj 21, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; Maharaja's letter (f. 103a) ; Avitabile's reply (f. 104a) ; regulations regarding the salt-trade (f. 104a) ; unimportant routine (f. 104b). |
| Aswaj 22, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's dubar ; Maharaja's letter ; imprisonment of hostages (f. 105a) ; unrest in Tirah (f. 106a). |
| Aswaj 23, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; hearing of petitions (f. 107a) ; durbar routine. |
| Aswaj 24, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar ; Amir Khan's petition (f. 109a) ; Avitabile's enquiry about the killed and wounded from Qadir Khan (f. 110a) ; durbar routine (f. 110b). |
| Aswaj 25, 1898 B. E. | Complete list of the killed and wounded (f. 112a). |
| Aswaj 26, 1898 B. E. | Report of dacoities (f. 113b) ; durbar routine (114b). |
| Aswaj 27, 1898 B. E. | Routine matters. |
| Aswaj 28, 1898 B. E. | Durbar at Garhi ; disbursement of salaries (f. 117a-b) ; Arsala Khan's letter of instructions to Qadir Khan ; request for money for the purchase of fruit from Kabul (f. 118a) ; letter from Ghulam Mohyud-Din of Kashmir (f. 118b). |
| Aswaj 29, 1898 B. E. | Inspection of Dussehrawala ; durbar at Gur Garhi ; thanedar of Fatehgarh's report about the wounded soldiers (f. 120a) ; report about the plunder of a caravan (f. 120b). |
| Aswaj 30, 1898 B. E. | Inspection of Dussehrawala ; durbar at Gur Garhi ; report of Macknaughten's departure from Kabul for |

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| | Hindustan ; arrangements for a feast to Macnaughten (f. 121a) ; Qamar Din's request for the reward of men who had distinguished themselves in the Yusufzai battle (f. 121b) ; report of the officers of the various platoons (f. 122b). |
| Aswaj 31, 1898 B. E. | Durbar at Gur Garhi ; Maharaja's letter (f. 123a) ; restoration of a woman and her three daughters captured from the rebel tents to the relatives (f. 124a) ; durbar routine (f. 124b). |
| Katak 1, 1898 B. E. | Avitabile's durbar at Gur Garhi ; report of the officers posted in the Yusufzai territory (f. 125a) : durbar routine (f. 126a-b). |
| Katak 2, 1898 B. E. | Inspection of Dussehrawala ; loss in the Jahangira fort by floods (f. 127a) ; Lachhmi Parshad's suggestion about the route selected for the march of troops (f. 127b) ; durbar routine (ff. 128a-b). |
| Katak 3, 1898 B. E. | Durbar at Gur Garhi ; routine business (ff. 129a-b); Mackeson's visit to Avitabile (f. 130a). |
| Katak 4, 1898 B. E. | Inspection of Dussehrawala in the Company of Mackeson (f. 131a); letter of the Maharaja (f. 131a); petition of Qamar Din Khan ; routine business. |
| Katak 5, 1898 B. E. | Rates of Commodities (f. 134b). |
| Katak 6, 1898 B. E. | Letter to the Maharaja (f.135a) ; durbar routine. |
| Katak 7, 1898 B. E. | Routine matters. |
| Katak 8, 1898 B. E. | Routine matters. |
| Katak 9, 1898 B. E. | Petitions and the disposal thereof (ff. 139a-b). |
| Katak 10, 1898 B. E. | Routine matters (ff. 141-142). |
| Katak 11-12, | Routine matters. |

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Katak 13, 1898 B. E. (ff. 143-148b) News-writers audience with Mackeson.

Katak 15, 1898 B. E. (f.151a) ; Avitabile's visit to Mackeson (f.153a, Katak 16th) ; arrangements about the journey of Macnaughten and Elphinston (f.155a, Katak 16th) ; Avitabile's administration of justice (f.166a, 22nd Katak) ; letter to the Maharaja (f.169a, Katak 24th) ; Mackeson's report of the Afridi action (f.191a, Maghar 8th) ; Avitabile's instructions to the officers of the Ahluwalia platoon (f.207a-15th Maghar) administration of justice (f.221a, 23rd Maghar) ; Routine business in Avitabile's durbar (f.225a-29th Maghar). (f.187) 3, 4, 5, Maghar, ff. 213-218 Mis-placed, 9th Maghar (2) repeated ; 18-19-20-21 Maghar-Missing. 25-26-27-28 Maghar Missing.

## اخبارات سنگھاں

## AKHBARAT-I-SINGHAN. (Pe. III. 30, VOL. 3.)

### VOL-III.

News from the country of Dera Ismail Khan, yage Murat, Bannu, Isa Khelan and Tak (or Tank).

ff. 192, ll. (11-14); 9.5″×6″: 6.6″×3.8″; Shikasta, in different hands; worm-eaten and at places soiled; additions made in the margin; written hurriedly and carelessly.

Beginning: چوں درین وقت اخبار ملک دیرہ اسماعیل خان.....الخ

Writer : Unknown.

Dated : The 16th Bhadon-28th Phagan, 1903 B. E.

General Form : The News-sheets, generally each covering 2 folios, give a day to day record of events which took place in the country to which the reports pertain. Ordinarily news for two successive days are reported therein. They begin in the name of God--"Sri Akal Purakh Ji". At the outset the daily routine of the administration-incharge is given and then the holding of Durbar (his sitting for the disposal of official work) is mentioned and the proceedings of the meeting are reported in minute details. The personal doings of the Dewan, even apart from the State business (i. e. his going out for hunting, on an ordinary walk, offering of prayers, etc.) are meticulously reported. The news, therefore, relate to the various aspects of local administration-political, revenue and general—and other developments in the area. Complete translation of a typical news report for one day would fully illustrate the general nature of these Akhbarat.

To-day, Friday, dated 14th-15th Maghar (1903 B. E.) Dera Ismail Khan, the news of the Durbar of Dewan Dulat Rai are as follows :—

The Dewan got up in the morning; when the day had advanced five or six *gharis* he sent for the barber, got his hair cut and took bath. Afterwards he held *durbar*. For some days past some *Chaudharies* and *Panches* of Kulachi had come to the Dewan in order to request him for reduction in land revenue since yield from land had decreased. In the afternoon the Dewan sent for them and granted a reduction of Rs. 4,000/- from the assessed amount. At the time of their send off they were given thirty pieces of *Loongies*, one per *Chaudhri*, and Khilats

were conferred upon them. Sardar Pir Bakhsh Khan Sadozai who had resigned service at Kabul, borrowed Rs. 500/-/- from the Dewan through Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan. He (Sardar Pir Bakhsh) sent a word through a tailor that the Dewan might purchase from him a sword and other weapons which would be found to be very rare and strange. Later Lala Jhagandar Mal presented two male calves and a *Hundi* to the Dewan. The Dewan studied the said Hundi letter and handed over the calves to the Mian and asked him to keep them with the herd. The Dewan got up for lunch, had his meals and retired to rest. He got up in the third quarter of the day, performed ablutions and held durbar. Lala Poho Mal and Nawabo Mal remained closeted with the Dewan in a room on the second storey. They came out of it and the Dewan dressed himself with sword, dagger and pistol. He, along with 20-25 sowars, went towards the river (Indus) for a walk (evening constitutional). They returned in the evening and a meeting was held at the Dewan's house. Pandit Parshotam Das came there. A lantern was placed there and mattings were spread out. The listeners sat on them. The said Pandit began to recite Bhagwatgita. It was concluded after 3 *gharis*. The audience withdrew to their houses. The Dewan also rose and went to the temple of Gosain Kanhya Lal for the sake of worship. He stayed there for an hour and offered prayers. Thereafter he came to his house and went to sleep. On the second day he got up from sleep, took bath, offered prayers and held durbar .....(f. 82a-b).

Of the rest abstract is given to indicate the contents.

| Date | |
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| Bhadon 16,-17, 1903 B. E. | Daily routine, durbar, administrative orders, hearing of a civil suit, apprehended raids of tribesmen for cattle lifting. |
| Bhadon 18,-19, | Sending of Khuda Bakhsh Khatak against the Shiranis who threaten to plunder property and cattle, a quarrel between a servant of the Dewan and a butcher; a case of confiscation of property; revenue collection (ff. 3a-4b). |
| Bhadon 20,-21, | Routine, durbar, clash between rival parties on account of illegal connection with a women, dispute about the possession of a certain well (ff. 5a-6b). |

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| Bhadon 22-23, | Routine and durbar, departure of a number of notables and their retainers towards Lahore, payment of dues to troops (ff. 7a-8b). |
| Bhadon 24-25, | Petition of Faqir with regard to the women of illegal connections, case of the sale of a Dhobi woman and her refusal to accompany the buyer (ff. 9a-10b). |
| Bhadon 26-27, | Meeting with notables and officers, despatch of troops towards Lahore, case of the sold woman, charging of *Nazrana* from Kulachi (ff. 11a-12b). |
| Bhadon 28, | Petition of the Hindus of Kulachi against the excesses of Guldad Khan, accidental death of a boy at the hands of Akbar Khan while ahunting, amicable settlement (ff. 13a-b). |
| Bhadon 29, | Meeting with the notables and officers of revenue settlement, a case of a criminal assault on a woman, marching of troops from Bhakkar towards Lahore (ff. 15a-16b.) |
| Bhadon 32, Asuj 1, | Meeting with notables and officers, sending of Hyat Ullah Khan for the settlement of Kharif revenue at Tak; departure of Vakils of various chiefs of the Ilaqa towards Lahore after Dussehra (ff. 17a-18b). |
| Asuj 2, | Meeting with notables and officers, murder of a woman and whereabouts of the murderers, despatch of Dessehra *nazars* to Lahore. (ff. 20a-21b). |
| Asuj 6-7, | Administrative appointments; more about the going of *Vakils* to Lahore on the occasion of Dussehra, meeting with Missar Amir Chand, financial difficulties of *Thanadar* Devi Singh (ff. 22a-23b). |
| Asuj 8-9, | *Parwanas* from the Sarkar to various officers, distribution of pay among officers, sending of revenue collections to Sarkar (about Rabi crop) (ff. 24a-25b). |
| Asuj 10-11, | Sale of old stock of grain, going of officers towards Tak, Dussehra celebrations, an affray among soldiers, going of certain notables towards Lahore (ff. 26a-27b). |
| Asuj 12-13, | March of troops towards Yage, revenue collection, quarrel among the clerks, a case of theft (ff. 28a-29b). |

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| Asuj 14-15, | Payment to the troops under Devi Singh, absconding of a Jamadar with money, appeal against highhandedness by a private revenue settlement with Guldad of Kulachi (ff. 30a-31b). |
| Asuj 16-17, | Dussehra celebrations, an affray among troops, activities of Guldad of Kulachi and Khuda Bakhsh Khan of Khattak, engagement between the two with regard to the possession of a fort, sending of troops to Tak (ff. 32a-33b). |
| Asuj 20-21, | Arrival of fruit caravans from Khurasan, siege of the fort of Guldad Khan, robbing of some Hindus by thugs, procuring of provisions for troops and other administrative matters (ff. 34a-35b). |
| Asuj 22-23, | Collection of revenue from zamindars of Musa Khel, purchase of horses at Bannu, restitution of the fort of Guldad Khan, a petition for reduction of revenue (ff. 26a-37b). |
| Asuj 24-25, | Reports of the zamindars about the estates, punishment of a certain Faqir of Baharpur, collection of revenue from Baharpur, arrival of horses from Yage and Murat for sale (ff. 38a-39b). |
| Asuj 26-27, | Indisposition of the Dewan, arrival of certain tribes from Kabul, minor administrative matters, report of an affray at Kulachi, meeting with military officers and their requisition for funds for the troops (ff. 40a-41b). |
| Asuj 28-30, | Minor administrative matters, reception of the grandson of Sardar Sarwar Khan, revenue Collection (ff. 42a-43b). |
| Katik 1-2, | Charities on the *Sankrant* day, revenue receipts, appeal for the repair of a well, distribution of pay among the troops, judicial cases (ff. 44a-45b). |
| Katik 34, | Meeting whith notables and officials, visit of Yar Mohammad Khan Afghan, inspection of the troops, payment of dues to the artillery men, visit of Gobind Sahai with a letter from the Sarkar (ff. 46a-47b). |

Date

Katik 5-6, Local affairs—administrative and general; complaints about over-taxation, arrival of an agent of Lahore Sarkar for purchase of camels (ff. 48a-49b).

Katik 7-8, Grant of leave to two functionaries, a dispute about the possession of a woman, dispute about a horse, petition of Khatries of Baharpur for remission of revenue (ff. 50a-51b).

Katik 9-10, Arrival of Wasti Ram Vakil from Lahore with a bag of letters, revenue receipts and disbursements, payment of dues to artillery men, report about the departure of Gora Khan and son of Sahibdad Khan towards Bahawalpur, sale of old stock of grain (ff. 52a-53b).

Katik 11-12, News about the arrival of a caravan of merchants from Bokhara towards Kulachi via Kabul (ff. 56a-57b).

Katik 15-17, Instructions about the purchase of oxen, dispute about possession of a camel (ff. 54a-55b).

NOTE :—The pages of the Mss. are wrongly fixed and numbered. This news-letter should have preceded the above and thereby the order of dates is corrected.)

Katik 18-20, Receipt of a Parwana from Lahore, departure of Devi Singh with appropriate gifts etc., etc., reports of the crossing of merchants to the other side of Indus on way to Multan, Dewan's offer of low octroi rates to induce them to sell their wares there (ff. 58a-59b).

Katik 24, A hunting trip, receipt of a bag of mail from Lahore, demand for dues by the troops (ff. 60a-61b).

Katik 30, Demand for dues by the artillery commandant, complaint about holding up of certain camels laden with goods, appeal of tenants of Nihal Ta'luqa for remission, complaint about recruitment without permission, case of abduction of a woman by a faqir, complaint of breach of betrothal of a girl (ff. 62a-64b).

Maghar 2-3, Visit to river Indus, payment of dues to certain officers, holding up of camels for crossing Indus, demand

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for dues by artillery men, case of a theft, dispute between a bazar woman and a Sikh soldier (ff. 67a-68b).

Maghar 5-6, News of the death of Lala Dya Ram, visit to the stable, purchase of camels, appointment of a person for the punishment of the murderers of Lala Dya Ram, arrival of Afghan Sardars from the service of Dost Mohammad Khan and their report about the military preparations of the Amir (ff. 69a-70b).

Maghar 7-8, Meeting with notables and officers, demand for money by artillery men, report about a robbery, cattle lifting (ff. 71a-72b).

Maghar 9, Sending of *sowars* for the maintenance of peace and order in the Jagir of Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan, arrival of Afghans for recruitment, dispute among some Brahmans of Baharpur (ff. 73a-b).

Maghar 10, Meeting with Sher Mohammad Khan, an affray between privates, case of a criminal assault on the son of a zamindar (ff. 74a-75b).

Maghar 11, Request for the tracing of an old deed, request for the payment of the price of some camels purchased from an Afghan, quarrel between some Pewanda camel owners and a zamindar, private meeting with Faujdar Khan, quarrel among Brahmans (76a-77b).

Maghar 12, Dispute between Jafar Khan and his uncle, trouble over non-payment of octroi duties, complaint of the artillery men about delay in the payment of dues, arrival of a state banker on his way to Kulachi, disorder created by Pewandas, requisition for *dana* of cattle of the topkhana, inspection of horses (ff. 78a-81b.

Maghar 14-15, The report about the 14th has been translated in full in the beginning, distribution of pay among troops, requisition for grain for cattle, complaint of a *beopari* against high-handedness (ff. 82a-83b).

Maghar 16-17, Administrative affairs and local reports, a clash between robbers and zamindars, revenue reduction in Kulachi (ff. 84a-85b).

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Maghar 19-20, Going of the Dewan to Nawab Sher Mohammad to offer greeings on the occasion of Id, instructions to raiders, abduction of a woman, an appeal from Brahmans of Isa-Khel, purchase of camels (ff. 86a-87b).

Maghar 20-21, Meeting with officers and notables, search for an absconding thief, complaint of a Sahukar against Fateh Khan (ff. 88a-89b).

Maghar 22-23, Meeting with Pewandas from Kabul and news about Afghanistan, meeting with Sardar Taj Mohammad Khan Sadozai of Multan and Radha Kishan (ff. 90a-91b).

Maghar 24-25, Meeting with notables and officers, private discussion with Nawabo Mal and Poho Mal, meeting with Guldad Khan of Kulachi and four squires, grant of parting gifts to them, visit of Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan, inspection tour, report of the arrival of 4 lions in the neighbourhood, a dispute between two chiefs in the locality, intended purchase of horses for the Sarkar, grant of a permit, rejection of an application for remission of octroi duties, report of lifting of a camel (ff. 92a-93b).

Maghar 26-27, Meeting with notables and officers, arrival of mail from Lahore, visit of the chief of Pewandas of Mian Khel, arrangement with him for the purchase of horses and his request for a permit for sending fruit to the British and Dewan Mul Raj, the Dewan's requisition to send him certain varieties of cloth, report of an affray, dispute about the possession of camels meant to be sold to the Dewan, complaint of a farmer against the elephant driver of the Dewan for forcibily cutting sugarcane, grant of *Khilat* to the *nazim* of Lakki (ff. 94a-95b).

Maghar 28-59, Complaint of an Afghan of Kulachi against a Sahukar about non-payment of money placed with him, purchase of timber, complaint by the gardener of the garden of Naunihal Singh, presents to the Dewan, meeting with Pewanda brothers, arrival of *Darogha* of the Sarkar for purchasing horses (ff. 96a-97b).

| Date | |
|---|---|
| Poh 1-2, 1903. | Dispute about possession of land, orders for continuance of religious endowments, demand for pay by the troops, case of a thief who had escaped from the territory under Dewan Mul Raj to that under Dewan Daulat Rai (ff. 98a-99b). |
| Poh 3-4, | Instructions about the sale of horses, remission of octroi duties on goods of a Brahman, a dispute between two zamindars, report about an engagement between Fateh Khan and the troops of Dewan Mool Raj (ff. 100a-101b). |
| Poh 5-6, | Appeal of a zamindar for restoration of his abducted wife, orders to Kardar Chandar Bhan not to accept 'Begar', action against a person for having sold state property, distribution of pay among Akalgarh garrison, inspection of horses for sale (ff. 102a-103b). |
| Poh 7-8, | Request for remission of octroi duties on fruit purchased by the officers, civil suit about non-payment of borrowed money, request for permit for the camels of Shikarpur merchants to cross Indus from Kherat, orders to tenants to pay revenue in cash, excesses of Guldad Khan at Kulachi (ff. 104a-105b). |
| Poh 9-10, | Request of the tenants to pay revenue in kind, appeal for the restoration of two lost oxen, arrival of horses for sale, receipt of two *Parwanas* from the Sarkar, decision of a case of a disputed possession of a shop, report about the search of the murderers of Lala Dya Ram (ff. 106a-108b). |
| Poh 11-12, | Complaint by a tenant, search of some thieves, effect of excessive octroi duties imposed by the Dewan, private consultations with officers (ff. 109a-110b). |
| Poh 13-14, | Letters from Dewan Devi Sahai and Khushal Singh about the movements of troops, arrival of some dismissed soldiers from Hyderabad, complaint against the system of 'Begar' arrival of some Poorbeahs for service, report about the occurrence of frequent thefts (ff. 112a-113b). |

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Poh 15-18, Private consultations. arrival of mail from Lahore, bad effects of the arrival of 500 sowars towards Bhakkar in order to collect dues, reports of the agents of the Dewan about their movements, secret meeting with notables, reports about the arrival of horse-dealers from Kabul, a local fair (ff. 114a-116b).

Poh 19-20, Visit of Jhaganda Mal, the newly appointed Nazim of Lakki, discussion about the situation created by the arrival of troops, instructions for the collection of revenue (ff. 117a-118b).

Poh 21-22, Sending of agents for bringing *Panches* of Kulachi, orders to *Kardars* to send revenue collected in kind, instructions to the officials at the crossing place not to harrass the merchants, complaint by Sadiq Khan against Ghulam Mohiyud-Din of Tank, meeting of the agents of the Dewan with the troops, insistence of the troops to collect the dues in full, prayers of the people for rain (ff. 119a-120b).

Poh 23-24, Private consultations with officers, visit to the fort, talk about Raja Lal Singh and the British, cultivation of good relation with the Khans (Hayat Ullah Khan and others), reports about the acceptance of bribes by the officers (f. 124b left blank). (ff. 121a-124b).

Poh 25-26, Discussions about the collection of money to be paid to the troops, complaint of the zamindars against *Kardars*, request of some loan by the commander of the troops and the Dewan's inability to pay off the instalment due in Poh, despatch of horses for sale towards Lahore, arrival of forces for strengthening the garrison at Akalgarh, reports of the excesses of the *Kardars* of Dewan Daulat Rai (ff. 125a-127b).

Poh 29-30, Indisposition of the Dewan, payment of part of the amount fixed to be collected by Guldad Khan from Kulachi and his skirmish with the Khatries of the place, agreement to pay revenue in kind, excesses practised on the Khatries for the collection of revenue, closing of the

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shops at Kulachi, disaffection among the people and their observations on the dissolution of the Sikh rule (ff. 128a-129b).

Poh 27-28, (NOTE.—The news-letter has been wrongly fixed here. It should have preceded the above in point of date). Private consultations, arrival of the *Ghorcharas* to receive the amount fixed as their dues on the Dewan, complaint about the non-supply of fodder and provisions, etc., meeting in the *Panches* of Kulachi, their complaint against the failure of the government to protect them, collection of revenue from Pewandas, apprehended attack from Fateh Khan (ff. 130a-132b).

Mangh 1-2, Consultation with officers and notables, private conference with Poho Mal and Navabo Mal, minor administrative affairs, report of the major of the artillery for the reconstruction of the house for the general, purchase of a horse, agreement for the payment of money due from the Dewan (ff. 133a-134b).

Mangh 3-4, Private conference, application for leave by a soldier, report of the official at the crossing place of Kanjawala about his mishandling by Pewandgan, request for advance by the artillery commandant, reports of *Kardars* about administrative affairs (ff. 135a-136b).

Mangh 7-8, Release of a thief, instructions to the *Kardar* of Kulachi to collect revenue illegal transfer of land from one owner to another, damage caused by the troops who had come to realize money from Dewan Daulat Rai (ff. 137a-138b).

Mangh 5, Auditing of the accounts of Dewan Daulat Rai by Missar Amir Chand, intention of some zamindars to settle on this bank of Indus, petition of a Khatri for reduction of revenue, demand for money by Devi Sahai, *parwana* in the name of the *Kardar* of Kich (ff. 139a-140b).

Mangh 9, Instructions of the Dewan to Guljas Rai to render accounts, private conference, the Dewan's suggestions for for the encampment of the troops, the Dewan's efforts

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to compose some standing differences between chiefs, a letter of good-will to Fateh Khan (ff. 141a-142b).

Mangh 11, A letter from Guldad Khan, Nazim of Kulachi, case of theft of Silk belonging to traders from Kabul (ff. 143a-144b).

Mangh 13, Receipt of gifts in connection with the marriage celebrations of the Dewan's son, roll call of the *Sowars* (ff. 145a-b).

Mangh 15, Report of Jass Chaudhari about cases of cattle lifting by the zamindars, meeting with certain chiefs, inspection of the sowars and artillery men, instructions to *Kardars* to expedite revenue collection (ff. 146a-147b).

Mangh 17, Private conference, recruitment of some artillery men and fixing of their salary, bringing of some goats by the men of the Dewan without payment, secret discussion of news from Lahore, grant of *Khilats* to the visitors (ff. 148a-149b).

Mangh 19, Orders on the letter of the *Nazim* of Lakki, instructions with regard to the construction of a new well, report of the *Kardar* of Baharpur with regard to a murder and his investigations in this connection, action against two Khatri ex-servants of the Dewan, part payment of the dues towards the *sowars*, release of the son of a zamindar who had been arrested consequent of non-payment of revenue (ff. 150a-151b).

Mangh 21-22, Meeting with some Sardars, private consultations, inspection of troops, miscellaneous local reports (ff. 152a-153b).

Mangh 23-24, Instructions with regard to the collection of revenue, a festive occasion (probably marriage celebrations) and entertainments in this connection, occurrence of an affray and the arrest of the Panches of Murat, the Dewan's instructions to the keeper of the fort (of Akalgarh) (ff. 154a-155b).

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Mangh 24-25, Report about a pitched battle in front of the fort (of Akalgarh), sending of a force by the Dewan, demand for dues by the artillery men, reports of some local disputes (ff. 156a-157b).

Mangh 26, Private consultations, instructions with regard to the departure of camels laden with silk, appeal for remission of sentence of a person who had stolen silk, appeal of a tenant for relief, an application from the Thanadar of Isa Khel (ff. 158a-159b).

Mangh 27-28, An application from Sher Khan of the town of Paniala, demand for dues by the artillery men, an application from Tilok Chand for sending camels for carrying howitzers (ff. 160a-161b).

Mangh 29, Arrival of a messenger with an application from Munshi Bishan Das of Isa Khel, private consultations, reports about the marching of the dera of the *Ghorcharas*, bringing about of reconciliation between two parties. (ff. 162a-163b).

Phagan 2-3, Talk about Nizam Khan, applications from Paniala, meeting with Nawab Sher Mohammad (f. 165b left blank) (ff. 164a-165b).

Phagan 4, Arrival of a messenger with a letter from Nizam Khan, siege of the fort and appeal to the Dewan for help, sending of some guns towards Isa (Khel) (ff. 166a-b).

Phagan 6, A letter from Fateh Khan, *Thanadar* of Isa Khel, about the siege of the fort, transport of guns by means of boats, arrival of the dera of the Dewan by forced marches at Kangal, meeting with officers (ff. 167a-b).

Phagan 8-9, Meeting with notables and officials, minor local affairs, audience with some Khans and their proposal for the destruction of the fort at Lakki, firing of guns, instructions with regard to the marching of troops, flight of the besiegers in view of the coming of the Dewan, encamping of the Dewan and train near the fort, burning of the newly constructed parts of the town of Lakki by the mischief-mongers (ff. 168a-169b).

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Bhagan 10-11, Headquarters at Lakki, discussion about the escape of the miscreants, meeting with the artillery officers, talk about arrangement for carrying luggage of the general and commandant, arrival at the *dera* of Hyat Ullah Khan, meeting with the officials and notables, reports about the doings of the malefactors, *parwanas* in the name of the officers of the neighbourhood of Lakki (ff. 170a-171b).

Phagan 12-13, Reports about the battle between Fateh Khan Tiwana and the Afghans, receipt of a letter from Sher Khan of Isa Khel, application of a bad character for pardon, complaint of the Khatries of Isa Khel against extortion of money, report of occurrence of trouble at Lakki, submission of some *muqqadams* of Murat, grant of *Khilats*, settlement of revenue with some notable of Murat (172a-173b).

Phagan 14-15, Headquarters at Lakki, purchase of a horse, receipt of a bag of mail from Wasti Ram, indisposition of the Dewan, audience of people of Murat and their presentation of *nazar*, report about the arrival of a platoon of Najibs to realize the contract money from Kachhi, writing of letters by the Dewan in the name of the Khans of Bannu (ff. 174a-174b).

Phagan 16, Indisposition of the Dewan, meeting with Sher Khan, letters from Langar and other bad characters of Murat to the Dewan and his reply to them, talk with Hyat Ullah Khan, inspection of the troops, visits and other minor affairs (ff. 176a-177b).

Phagan 18-19, Prayers before Granth Sahib, instructions for checking up troops, general news and talk, sending of *parwanas* in the various directions for the collection of provisions, meetings with officers from various places and their reports about the supply of provisions, minor administrative matters, despatch of letters, expected arrival of some Sahib Bahadur (Englishman) and instructions to officials for the safety of the person (ff. 178a-179b).

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Phagan 25, Dera near Isa Khel on the bank of Indus, receipt a letter intimating the arrival of the Sahib Bahadur, letters from Sardar Shamsher Singh and the Sahib, asking the Dewan to meet them on the bank of Indus, instructions to Lala Poho Mal with regard to the arrival and reception of Cutlein Sahib along with topkhana, regiment and a platoon and to report to the Dewan whatever might be the will of the Sahib, visit to the town and fort of Isa Khel, camping near the river in anticipation of the visit of the Sahib, sending of presents to Cutlein Sahib. Receipt of a letter from Sardar Shamsher Singh with regard to the forthcoming meeting with the Sahib, a letter from the Khans of Bannu with regard to their willingness to present themselves before the Sahib (ff. 180a-182b).

Phagan 20-21, Letter from Sardar Shamsher with regard to the collection of boats, instructions to Fateh Khan of Isa Khel in this regard, meeting with Faujdar Khan of Bannu, talk about a hawk, purchase of a horse, interview with the Jamadar of the fort at Lakki and his four requests, reply to the letter of the notables of Bannu, decision in the case of theft of silk, dance of bazar women (nautch girls) sending of a *dali* of fruits to the Sahib and Sardar Shamsher Singh in order to ascertain about their arrival there (ff. 183a-184b).

Phagan 26, Arrival of a messenger and his report about the Sahib and Sardar Shamsher Singh and his asking the Dewan to meet him (the Sahib) on the other bank of the river, the Dewan's consultation with notables and preparations, orders to the notables of Bannu to reach Lakki, meeting with Cutlein Sahib and courtesies, meeting of the Dewan and the notables with the Sardar (Shamsher Singh) and *nazars* and *Sarwarnas* (as per details noted here), their talk about the rising of the people of Lakki and the siege of the fort, the Dewan's explanation, the Sahib's inquiries about the climate of Bannu and his observations on the unruly nature of the people. Talk with the

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Sardar Sahib about the condition of the country (ff. 185a-188b).

(*N. B.*—The folios are mis-arranged. This letter should have preceded the above in point of date).

Phagan 22, Meeting with the notables and officials, issue of *parwanas* in the individual names of the elite of Bannu, asking them to come to Lakki with a view to meet the Sahib and the Sardar encamped on the other bank of Indus, arrival of some notables from Bannu at the dera of the Dewan, their consultations among themselves, their march along with the Dewan in order to meet the Sahib (ff. 189a-190b).

Phagan 28, Camping of the Dewan and his followers near the camp of the Sahib, sending of provisions to the dera of the Sahib, sending of a live-hare, request for 100 camels for carrying goods of the Sardar, instructions to Fateh Khan to do the needful, giving of a feast to the Sahib by the Dewan, meeting of the Dewan with some chiefs, arrival of mail, petition of the soldiers who had fought against Dewan Daulat Rai under Fateh Khan Tiwana for re-employment after the defeat and flight of Fateh Khan, and their production of a *parwana* given to them by Cutlein Sahib, the Dewan's disinclination to accept the rebels back and his instructions to Lala Poho Mal to convey his views to the Sardar and the Sahib (ff. 191a-192b.)

# خیرد نامۂ دانش

# KHIRAD NAMA-I-DANISH

ff. 74 ; 11.13 10.5″×6″ : ×7.7″×3.6″ ; elegant Shikasta, good state of preservation.

Preserved among the manuscript collection of D. B. Raja Narendra Nath, Lahore.

Author : Vidya Dhar.

Beginning : زمانه انگیزیٔ شمع قلم بجلوه طرازیٔ ثنایٔ.....الخ

*Date of composition.* The Author* has not specifically stated the year in which he wrote the book. But in the preface he has mentioned that the compilation was produced by him by copying out the letters written (by him) during his stay at Peshawar. Thus as a contemporary collection of despatches the work was composed in the years 1894-95 Sambat (or 1837-38 A.D.)

The work covers a brief period of two years. The letters contained therein pertain to happenings on the North West Frontier of the Sikh Empire. The scribe was probably attached with one of the frequent expeditions sent to Peshawar as a result of serious contest with the Afghans under Amir Dost Mohammad. The letters written during the years 1837-38 A.D. deal in considerable detail with some important persons and events in that part of the country.

## ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS

*A brief account of the departure of the Commander-in-Chief (General Ventura) to his country in order to meet his revered father.*

Description of his great services in driving the Afghans away from the Khyber after the death of Hari Singh Nalwa ; his long stay in the

*The author has recorded that his family broke up on the death of Nawab Abdul Gaffoor Khan and lost the means of livelihood at the court of Maharaja Holkar. In those days good fortune directed them to the country of the Punjab. He spent his time under the benevolent patronage of D. Ajudhia Parshad, eldest son of Dewan Ganga Ram, the keeper of the office of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and enjoyed the privilege of his company and on occasions enlightened himself by studying the correspondence of the talented person ..... Through his favour the author got employment under Prince Sher Singh and proceeded to Kashmir At that time, through good fortune, he was, along with other employees, on his way to Peshawar. On this journey the letters written by the pearl stringing pen have been collected and compiled in the form of "*Khirad Nama*" (ff. 2b-3).

Punjab since youth and creditable achievements during the period; his intention to go home on the receipt of a message from his father through General Allard on his return to the Punjab; his return to Lahore from Peshawar coincidentally with the entry of General Allard into the Capital: departure of General Ventura to Europe on the second Sawan, 1894 Sambat. Going of Commander Allard along with the troops to Amritsar in connection with the celebrations of the Dussehra and thence his appointment to Peshawar; his entry into the city on the 17th Maghar, 1894 Sambat, and management of civil and military affairs; murder of Commandant Shiv Singh at the hands of an ex-convict Havaldar, sudden death of General Allard, mourning and sending of his bier to Lahore. Return of M. Ventura from his home country, 5th Chet, 1896 Sambat, and meeting with the Sarkar at Amritsar; his participation in the burial of General Allard and arrival at Peshawar on the 1st Besakh, 1896 Sambat (1839 A.D.) (ff. 3b-7b).

*A brief account of Peshawar City and its Nazims.*—A description of the conditions of disorders and lawlessness from the conquest of the place by the Sarkar upto the appointment of General Avitabile as the Governor of the place; enlightened administration of the General and the establishment of peace and order and encouragement of prosperity among the subjects. Popularity among the subjects. Popularity and achievements of Dewan Lachhman Parshad (ff. 8a-9a).

24th Poh, 1894 Sambat (1837 A.D.)

*Letter to Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Some proposals and suggestions with regard to the suppression and punishment of the thieves and robbers of the hilly regions. Request to the Sardar to visit Peshawar and give them the benefit of his experience and information and, therefore, not to stay long at Kohat, whither he was reported to be going (ff. 10a-b).

2nd Magh, 1895 Sambat (1838 A.D.)

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Report by Sardar Mohammad Sayeed Khan about the non-payment of the dues by the people of Kohat, Suggestion to extort payment through armed forces and, if necessary, to reinforce local troops by sending some more to the place. Further proposal about the sending of the troops at the favourable time for the realisation of the revenue, since at that time they would be faced with scarcity of food and fodder, etc. (ff. 10b-11b).

14th Poh, 1894 Sambat (1837 A.D.)

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Report from the *Beoparees* that the employees of the Sardar, who has been granted a *Jagir* worth a few lakhs of rupees from the Sarkar for the protection against marauders and punishment of the robbers, etc., were negligent and did not attend to their duties at all. Suggestion to the Sardar to uproot the trouble completely and not to depend on lazy servants and to appoint only reliable persons. Considerations about the unsuitability of the Khalsa troops in view of the fact that, being unfamiliar with the country, they might lay the country waste and slaughter innocent people. Consequences of the reports reaching the Durbar and receipt of orders therefrom and hence emphatic reminder to remove all causes of complaint and to take effective measures in this regard (ff. 11b-13a).

18th Magh, 1894, Sambat (1837 A.D.)

*To Sardar Sher Mohammad Khan.* Emphatic reminder about dealing with the menace of robbers and suggestions about effective measures in that connection (ff. 13a-b).

*Undated.*

*The Dewan Sahib (Dewan Ajudhia Parshad) wrote to the Sardar from himself.* Receipt with due gratification of the communication from Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan, announcing the victory of the servants of the State over the rebels (ff. 14a-14b).

*Undated.*

*Similarly to Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Intimation about the arrival of the royal camp at a distance of four *koh* from Bannu and the satisfactory disposal of all the administrative problems. Grant of a *khilat* and an elephant to each of the younger Sardars and orders to Sardar Mohammad Sayed Khan to present himself at the court on the occasion of the visit of *Lat Sahib* (ff. 14b-15a).

*Undated.*

*Similarly from Dewan Sahib to Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Some observations on the realization of revenue from the territory of Bannu and directions about the treatment of the elders of the place (ff. 15a-16b).

*Undated.*

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Report of the arrival of some reliable men from Kashikhel to seek pardon from Mohammad Khan; services of Mohammad Khan to Avitabile and proposal to deal with him as might be determined after mutual consultation on his visit to Peshawar (ff. 16b-17a).

26th Besakh, 1895 Sambat (1838 A.D.)

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Complaints and regards from the Sarkar. Intimation of the arrival of Alexander Burnes from Kabul as reported by reliable persons at Peshawar (ff. 17a-b).

*Undated.*

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Receipt of his letter, satisfaction with his management of the districts of Barak and Chabutra. Suggestion to him to attend to Tal as well (ff. 18a-b).

*Undated.*

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Receipt of his letter. Renewed suggestion to proceed towards Tal and properly administer that district. Expression of a wish to meet him personally (ff. 18b-19a).

*Undated.*

*To Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.* Receipt of his letter yesterday. Re: his proposed visit, suggested to him to come after a week's time (ff. 19a).

*To Raja Sahib from Avitabile.* Acknowledgment of the letter pointing to the impropriety of charging Rs. 5000 from the men of Sardar Sultan Mohammad; profession of his consistent friendship with a regard for the Barakzais and the family of the Sardar (Sultan Mohammad), explanation that the displeasure of the Sardar was without reason and that the charge of Rs. 5000 was made for the realisation of his own salary and that of M. Court. Violation by his men of the rules and regulations about not allowing any body to leave the city of Peshawar without his permit. His opinion that probably the Sardar was annoyed with him on account of that incident and appeal for an enquiry into the matter (ff. 19a-20b).

A review of the character and achievements of General Allard and the disposal of his property in the Punjab (ff. 21a-22b).

*Despatches.—6th Har, 1895 Sambat.—A despatch to Maharaja Sahib (Ranjit Singh).* A report of the visit of Alam Khan Orakzai to Kabul and

his conversations with Dost Mohammad Khan. His observations on the mission of Alexander Burnes. Dealings of Alam Khan with Dost Mohammad Khan and his communication about those matters. Request for an early grant of *Jagirs* in the neighbourhood of Khyber (ff. 23a-b).

*Despatch written on the 26th Bhadon, 1895 Sambat (1838 A. D.).* Petition for the grant of pay and allowances (probably of M. Ventura) for the period during which he had gone to his country on leave after fourteen years of service and that too with the permission of the Sarkar (ff. 23b-24b).

*Despatch to the Sarkar.* The two employees explain why they have not been able to make arrangements for the flow of water from the side of Khyber into Fatehgarh fort. Their suggestions and endeavours in this regard (ff. 25a-26a).

*Despatch to the Sarkar.* Steps taken and difficulties experienced by the correspondent in making arrangements for the flow of water from the 'Nala' near Khyber (ff. 26a-b).

19th Bhadon, 1895 Sambat (1838 A. D.)

*Despatch to the Sarkar.* Coming of Sardars Sham Singh and Bela Singh to the correspondent and their regrets for having acted contrary to the orders of the Sarkar. The problem of water supply from Khyber and hostile attitude of the tribes of the area, their efforts to secure Dost Mohammad's support. Eagerness of the Sardars (Sham Singh and Bela Singh) to render services to the Sarkar disregardful of the dearness and scarcity of provisions, etc. Observations on the plan of operations against the tribes for the purpose of making water flow into Fatehgarh fort (ff. 26b-29a).

*Despatch to the Sarkar.* Proceedings in the case of Shiv Singh Commandant, accused of murder, and another collaborator. Provision for keeping stocks of wheat flour and cereals according to the order of General Avitabile. Delay in the payment of salaries of the troops and other employees. Preparation of the accounts for the Rabih crop, 1895 Sambat, and discussions with General Avitabile in this connection. Particulars about the revenue proceeds of the *ilaqa* and suggestions about the system prevalent in that area. Request to the Sarkar to appoint some person for the settlement of matters relating to revenue until the arrival of the Royal Camp at that place, particularly when two Sarkars

(the Maharaja and the British Government) intended to start operations on a large scale in that area (ff. 29a-31a).

*Undated.*

*Despatch to the Sarkar.* Categorical reply to the *Parwana* in which he (the correspondent) was called upon to arrange for the control and administration of the fort at Ali Masjid and was directed about the manner in which it was to be occupied (ff. 31b-32a).

*Parwana.* In reply to the letter with regard to the bringing of the water of the "nala" of the Khyber for the fort at Fatehgarh in whatever manner possible (ff. 32b-33b).

*Translation of the statements of Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan.*—Tracing of his connection with the Sarkar and gratitude for numerous favours bestowed on him. Observations on the rejection of the offer of Alexander Burnes by Amir Dost Mohammad Khan and the proposal of the two governments to place Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. His assurance to rally the chiefs of Kabul from the frontier of Khyber to Gazni to the cause of the Sarkar and also to win over the sons and relatives of Dost Mohammad Khan with the exception of Mohammad Akbar and thereby the purpose of expelling Dost Mohammad Khan might be tactfully achieved. His eagerness to render service to the Sarkar and proposal to place the plan before the British Government, by visiting the Sarkar on the occasion of Dussehra and meeting the *Lat Sahib* (ff. 34a-35b).

*Letter to Shahzada Kharak Singh from General Avitabile.* Acknowledgment of condolence on the death of General Allard and gratitude for the recognition of his services to the Prince (ff. 35b-36b).

*Letter from Dewan Sahib (Ajudhia Parshad) to Prince Sher Singh.* Acknowledgment of condolences on the death of General Allard and appreciation of the services of the deceased (ff. 36b-38a).

*Letter to Commander General Allard from Nawab Jabbar Khan Barakzai.*

Received on the 18th Bhadon, 1895 Sambat.

Complaint about not receiving a reply to earlier communications. Report about the recent dealings of Sardar Mohd. Ummar Khan with Qandhar and the Shah of Iran. Request for the clarification of the position since General Allard's letter was ambiguous (ff. 41a-42b).

*Letter from Alam Khan Orakzai to General Allard*—Received on the 15th Bhadon, 1895 Sambat.

Observations on the proposal for friendship between the Khalsa Sardar and the tribes. Dissatisfaction with the attitude of Alexander Burnes and lowering of the British prestige in their eyes. News about happenings among Iran, Kabul and Russia. Suggestion of the correspondent for making a common cause among Kabul, Panjab and Hindustan (ff. 42b-44a).

*Letter from Jabbar Khan to General Allard.* Receipt of his letter and regret at not being able to meet him personally. Hopes of the union of the Amir, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British Government raised by the visit of Alexander Burnes. Arrival of a news-writer of the British at Kabul before the coming of Abbas Mirza Qachar and his functioning as a link between the Amir and the *Lat Sahib.* Hoping of the Amir for the restoration of Peshawar and territories on this side of Attock by the British to the Afghans until the occupation of Peshawar by the Sikhs and further strengthening of those hopes on the arrival of Alexander Burnes. Proposals of Dost Mohd. to Maharaja in this connection. Failure of the Burnes Mission and his return. Observations on the deadlock and suggestion for resolving it and assurance of his own perpetual friendship (ff. 44a-46a).

*To Allard Sahib.* Received on the 22nd Sawan.

Views of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan on the proposed friendship with the Sarkar Maharaja Bahadur as desired by that Government (ff. 49-50 b).

*Undated.*

*To Allard Sahib.* Report of the meeting of the correspondent with Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan. His revelation of facts about the sudden departure of Alexander Burnes from Kabul as gathered from Amir Dost Mohammad Khan. News about the proceedings of the King of Iran in collaboration with the Emperor of Russia (ff. 50b-51b).

*Letter drafted and written by Alam Khan to General Allard.* His observations on the necessity of friendship between the Amir and the British Government. News from Herat and Qandhar (ff. 51b-53a).

*From Alam Khan Barakzai to Commander General Ventura Sahib*

13th Besakh. (1838 A. D.)

His meeting with Allard Sahib at Khyber, inability to visit Kabul and endeavours to persuade the Amir to prefer friendship with the

British to that with Qachar and Russia. Overtures for friendship with Allard Sahib. Condolence over his sudden death (ff.53a-54a).

*To Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Request for sending him true and authentic news about Herat (ff. 57a-b).

21st Jeth, 1895 Sambat.

*To Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Report about the arrival of Alexander Burnes at Peshawar on his way back from Kabul and his explanation for the failure of his mission. Request for sending information about the case independently gathered by him (ff. 57b-58a).

24th Jeth, 1895 Sambat (1838 A. D.)

*To Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Receipt of the letter intimating news about Herat. Complaint about unduly delayed letters which were being returned for inquiry into the matter (ff. 58a-b).

11th Har, (Sambat 1895) (1838 A. D.)

*To Alam Khan Orakzai.* Request to give inside information about the conferences at Jalalabad and Kabul, and, if possible, to give Amir's own impressions about the failure of the Burnes mission and its repercussions (ff. 58b-59b).

4th Har, (Sambat 1895) (1838 A. D.)

*To Nawab Abdul Jabbar Khan.* Receipt of letter containing information about his meeting with Mohammad Alam Khan Orakzai. Arrival of Alexander Burnes at Peshawar and his observations about the intentions of the British Government. Suggesion to the addressee to meet Alam Khan in order to explore ways and means for establishing friendship with Amir Dost Mohammad Khan (ff. 59b-60b).

31st Har, (Sambat 1895) (1838 A. D.)

Assurances to him about regard and good wishes of the Sarkar. Instructions to purchase a good horse suitable to the taste of the Sarkar and send the same to the Durbar (ff. 60b-61a).

7th Sawan, 1895, Sambat.

*To Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Assurances that Mulla Jalal, an old associate, and Mohammad Alam Khan would be treated with due consideration and regard as desired by him (ff. 61a-b).

10th Sawan, 1895 Sambat.

*To Mohammad Alam Khan.* Assurances of friendship and request to act in conformity with the suggestions of Jabbar Khan. (ff. 61b-62b).

14th Sawan, (Sambat 1895).

*To Nawab Abdul Jabbar Khan.* Compliments with a view to increase amity and concord. Appointment of Hafiz Mohd. Amin, bound for Kabul, as news-writer (ff. 63a-b).

19th Sawan, 1895 Sambat (1838 A. D.)

*To Nawab Abdul Jabbar Khan.* Arrival of Mohd. Gul who had started from Kabul and also carries a letter from him. His report about the burning of his luggage by the people of the Khyber pass along with the note. Request to write again about the matters mentioned therein (ff. 63b).

26th Bhadon, 1895 Sambat.

*To Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Recommendation for inquiry into the case of one Ghulam Mohiyud-din, who had been arrested without any reason by Mohammad Alam Khan and request for his release on security (ff. 64a-b).

*To Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Observations on the friendship between the Khalsa Durbar and the British Government particularly with reference to the refusal of the Governor General to consider the demand of the Amir for the restoration of Peshawar and territories on the other side of Attock and the implications of the failure of the Burne's mission (ff. 64b-66b).

11th Bhadon 1895 Sambat. (1838 A. D.)

*To Mohammad Alam Khan.* Instructions and suggestions about sending intelligence from Kabul. (ff. 07a-68a).

Dated the same as above.

*Nawab Jabbar Khan.* Complaint about the ambiguity and vagueness of the reports sent by Mohammad Alam Khan. Suggestions about stating things clearly and unequivocally. News about Herat and Kandhar (ff. 68a-69b).

*To Mohammad Alam Khan Barakzai from Commander General Venture Sahib which was handed over to Daulat Rai Vakil.* Receipt of a letter of condolence from Amir Dost Mohammad Khan on the death of General Allard. Comments on the proceedings of the meetings at Jalalabad and Kabul and explanation of the implications of the Unity of Maharaja Bahadur and the British Government. His counsel to the Barakzai family to take the path of sanity and warning against the consequences of acting at the instigation of the interested parties (ff. 69b-71b).

*Undated.*

*A note from Amir Dost Mohammad Khan in reply to the above letter written to Mohammad Alam Khan Barakzai.* His gratitude for the expression of feelings of friendship by M. Ventura. Inability to fix the Khyber as the boundary of his dominions in view of the fact that he had placed himself at the head of the 'Jehad' movement for the redemption of the Muslims of Peshawar. His determination to face all odds as he had earlier fought Shah Shuja at Kandhar, his son, Sardar. Akbar Khan had fought Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and at that time he was opposed by a combination of the Shah, the Singhs and the British Government, His willingness to stake all in the cause of the faith and his countrymen and his preparations for the unavoidable clash (ff. 71b-74a).

The letters and despatches, in keeping with the classical style of writing letters in Persian, are written in very high flown style and stilted rhetoric. The construction of the sentences is rendered deliberately intricate in order to convey an impression of high literary skill of the correspondent.

The compilation contains valuable historical on the happenings in the North-Western regions of the Sikh dominions and beyond during the years 1894 and 95 Sambat (1837-38 A. D.). The despatches, with the exception of a few complimentary notes, deal with important diplomatic and administrative matters connected with serious political developments during the critical period. They bear on the closing stages of the Burnes mission to Kabul and foreshadow a rupture in the relations between the three governments—the Sikhs, Afghans and the British. As contemporary state documents they bring into clear relief the attitude of the Khalsa Durbar to their eastern and western neighbours. Some of the despatches deal with the Peshawar City and it environs. They throw considerable light on the administration of this troublesome province of the Sikh empire and also give us faithful and first hand descriptions of some of its outstanding administrators General Allard and Avitabile.

The papers, therefore, are of rare historical value. They give us, through confidential Sikh sources, an idea of the turn of events after the failure of the historic Burnes mission to Kabul, and its bearing on the Sikh attitude towards the Amir.

